THE

TWO LAST PLEADINGS

OF

CICERO AGAINST VERRES.

PANORMVS ET METELLVS

duo signa quæ extant in

CVRIA PANORMITANA.

THE

Two Last Pleadings

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

AGAINST

CAIUS VERRES;

TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES,

By CHARLES KELSALL, Esq.

AUTHOR OF A LETTER FROM ATHENS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A POSTSCRIPT,

CONTAINING REMARKS ON THE STATE OF

MODERN SICILY.

Virtutes ex seipso effert immortalis ingenii beatissimâ ubertate vir, dono quodam providentiæ genitus, in quo tota vires suas eloquentia experiretur.—*Hortensius de actione secunda, lib. v.*

LONDON:

Printed by T. BENSLEY, Bolt Court,

FOR WHITE, COCHRANE, AND CO. HORACE'S HEAD,
FLEET-STREET.

1812.

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TO

SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY.

SIR,

I TAKE the liberty of dedicating to you this translation of two brilliant specimens of forensic eloquence.

And to whom, Sir, can the originals be more acceptable than yourself, the avowed and irreconcilable enemy not only of Verrine proceedings, but of all sinister practices, whether in private or in public life, whether behind the shop-board, or the Exchequer?

I am, Sir,
Your very obedient
and very humble Servant,

THE TRANSLATOR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The pleadings against Caius Verres, prætor of Sicily, must be enumerated among the most valuable monuments of the eloquence of Cicero. The variety of entertaining anecdotes with which they abound, the works of art which are commemorated, the topographical descriptions, the glaring guilt of the accused, the insight afforded into the laws and manners of the ancient Sicilians, conspire to dazzle the imagination, and rivet the attention of the reader. The Translator originally wished to undertake the version of all the pleadings; but reflection suggested, that exclusive of the great labour of such a task, the continuation of so long an invective, together with the dry statements of the prices of corn, however curious to refer to, would pall upon the English reader. He has therefore attempted the translation of the two last only, by far the finest of all, in which indeed, but more especially the last, the quintessence of the crimes of Verres may be said to be concentrated.

The *De signis* speaks to the imagination, the *De suppliciis* to the heart.

The genius of the orator of the Roman Forum is no where more conspicuously displayed than in the pleading concerning the punishments; not in the Catilinarian harangues, nor in the divine Philippic itself. When the reader pictures to his imagination that august tribunal, at which a Roman prætor with his fasces

was arraigned with the commission of every species of crime, surrounded by deputies from nearly all the Sicilian cities, who came to make their depositions against him; when he remembers the great corruption that prevailed at Rome, and the immense influence of Verres, whose defence devolved on Hortensius; when he brings to mind the dangers that beset his antagonist during his fifty days' tour, while procuring materials for the impeachment; who received for his trouble neither fee nor present; he will probably be convinced, that the Verrine cause alone would have conferred immortality on Cicero.

The notes subjoined to each pleading have been added with the view of briefly illustrating the antiquities of the minor Sicilian cities, which preceding travellers, dazzled probably by the more splendid and notorious monuments of Agrigentum and Syracuse, have omitted to notice.

THE

PLEADING

CONCERNING

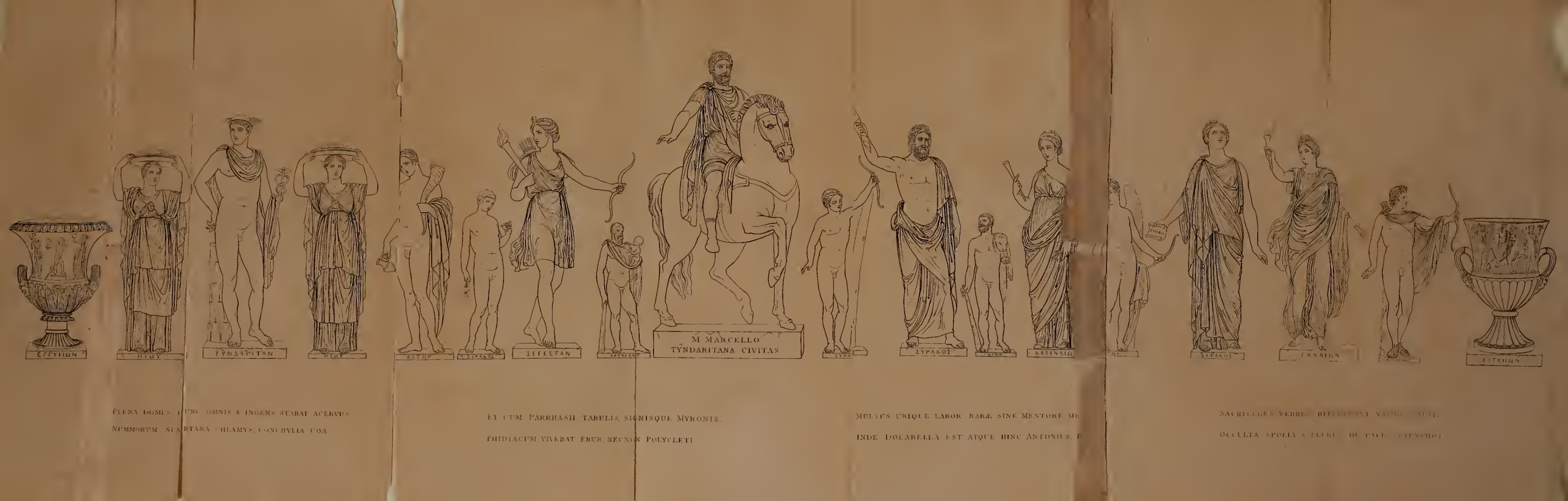
THE STATUES.

THE

ARGUMENT,

WRITTEN BY ERNESTUS.

This book exposes the depredations of Verres in the statues, and other ornaments of Sicily, whether public or private, whether sacred or profane; how he seized the pictures, tapestry, gold and silver plate, vases, gems, Corinthian, and Deliac bronzes. The orator proves that the defence of Hortensius is groundless, who maintained that these things were bought, not purloined by Verres. For by law, the governors of provinces were prohibited from buying any thing in their governments. The prices moreover given not being adequate to the value of the articles, could not exculpate Verres from the imputation of theft. This oration is entitled "*De Signis*," as it records the removal of the statues from the temples, which are consequently of the greater importance.


ΕΓΓΥΠΩΝ
ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ
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TYNDARITANA CIVITAS
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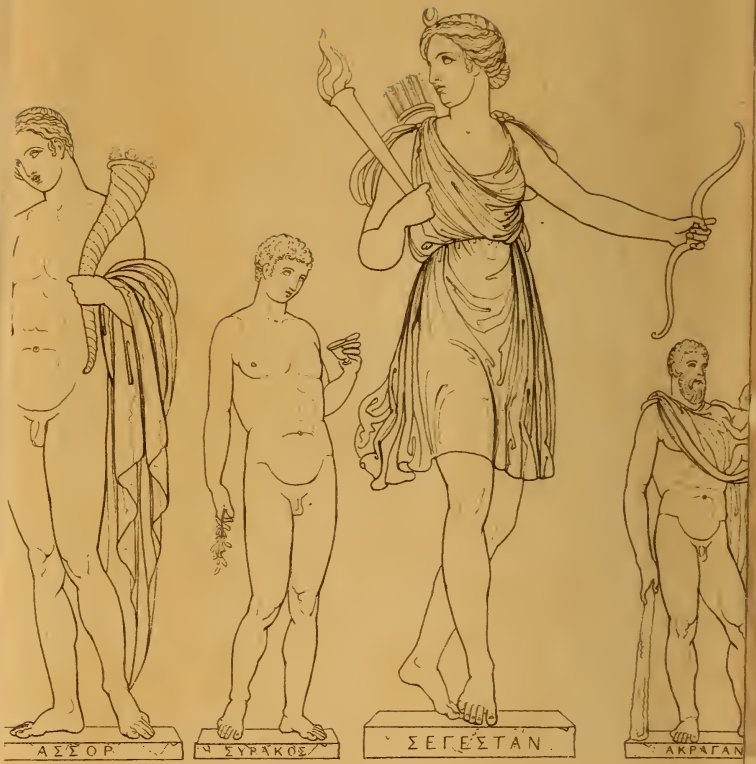
ΕΓΓΥΠΩΝ
PLENA DOMUS HUNC OMNIS & INGENS STABAT ACERVUS
NUMMORUM SPARTANA CHLAMYS, CONCHYLIA COA
ET CUM PARRHASII TABULIS, SIGNISQUE MYRONIS.
PHIDIACUM VIVEBAT EBUR, NECNON POLYCLETI
MULTUS UBIQUE LABOR RARÆ SINE MENTORE ME
INDE DOLABELLA EST ATQUE HINC ANTONIUS, P
SACRILEGUS VERRES RIFFLEBANT NATIBUS AUTE
OCCULTA SPOLIA & PLURES DE PACE TRIUMPHOS



ET CUM PARRHASII TABULIS, SI

PHIDIACUM VIVEBAT EBUR. NECNO

I AM now, my Lords, to treat of what Verres calls his inclination, what his friends term disease and madness, what the Sicilians, theft; how I shall call it I know not—I will state the case to you, and I beg you to estimate it not by its title, but its effects. Be first acquainted, my Lords, with its nature, and then perhaps you will have no great trouble in deciding how it should be termed. I affirm that in all Sicily, that wealthy and ancient province, abounding with so many towns, so many families, there was no silver, Corinthian, or Deliac vase, no gem or pearl, nothing worked in gold, ivory, or silver, no painting or tapestry, but what Verres procured and inspected, and seized what he chose.

I appear to say much. Listen now in what manner I will say it; for I do not include every thing for the sake of placing his crimes, or my eloquence, in a stronger light, when I proclaim

that he left no one of these things in the whole province. Know that I address you in simple Latin, and not in the language of the bar. Have it still plainer: that he left nothing in the private dwellings, whether of Sicilian or Roman, nothing in the towns, nothing in the places of public resort, nothing that he noticed or heard of, whether private or public, whether sacred or profane, in all Sicily.

In what manner can I begin my accusation better, than from that city, which you patronized and loved, or from what class of men better than those flatterers of your's? For it will be placed in a clearer light how you behaved towards those, who hate you, accuse you, and persecute you, if you are detected as an infamous freebooter, among your friends the Messanians.

Caius Heius is a native of Messana; (those who have visited that city will not deny it), and he holds there a high station. His house, if not the first at Messana, is certainly of the greatest notoriety, and in it our countrymen are most hospitably received. Before the arrival of Verres, this mansion was so embellished, that it was considered as an ornament to the city. For Messana itself, though beautiful from its situation, walls, and harbour, contains none of those things, which are that fellow's passion.[1]

Heius had a magnificent sacristy[2] attached to his dwelling, of great antiquity, and which he had inherited from his ancestors. In it there were four most beautiful statues, exquisitely carved, and of great repute, which could not only afford delight to that accomplished dilettante, but to any of us, whom he terms idiots. One was a marble Cupid, from the hand of Praxiteles;[3] for I informed myself of the artists' names, as I procured materials for the impeachment. I believe he is the same statuary who carved the Thespian Cupid: people visit Thespiæ[4] to see it, and there is no other inducement for strangers to go thither. For which reason, L. Mummius, when he removed from that city the statues of the Muses, and the other marbles which are deposited in the temple of Happiness, respected the Cupid, because it was there held in veneration. But to return to the sacristy. This, as I before said, was a marble Cupid; on the opposite side there was a Hercules in bronze, finely cast, I believe, by Myron; certainly so. Before these figures were placed little altars, which might indicate to any one the sanctity of the place. There were, moreover, two bronze figures not very large, but of exquisite beauty, attired as girls, which with uplifted hands, supported on their heads votive offerings, in the manner of the Athenian virgins.

They were called Canephoræ. But who was the artist?[5] Who? Right—Polycletus, it was believed. Any Roman visiting Messana, went to see these curiosities. The sacristy was daily open to the public; and the mansion was not more ornamental to its owner, than to the city.

Caius Claudius,[6] whose edileship we know was distinguished with great pomp, had this Cupid in his possession so long as he occupied the forum, embellished with the statues of the gods, and presence of the Roman people. Being the friend of the Heii, and patron of the Messanians, as he profited from their good will in accommodating him, so was he diligent in restoring what he had borrowed. People of high birth, my Lords, lately acted in that manner. Why do I say lately? But just now we have seen some adorn the forum and places of worship, not with the spoils of the provinces, or the thefts of guilty persons, but with the offerings of friends, and pledges of good will; which they always took care to return to the proprietors. They did not remove them from the cities of our allies, to their palaces and villas, for the sake of making a four days' show, with the pretext of the edileship. All these statues, as I before stated, my Lords, Verres plundered from the sacristy of Heius. Not one thing did he there leave, except an ancient figure in wood,

I think, a personification of Good Fortune. The truth is, he would not receive that in his house.

In the name of heaven and earth, what pretext could there be for this outrage? These statues, before they were removed by thee, Verres, no one came to Messana, vested with authority, without examining. All the prætors and consuls who have been in Sicily, all of whatever condition of life, I speak not of men of integrity, and observance of religious duties, all the avaricious and abandoned, were they endued with ever so much authority and power, never dared to request, take, or even touch any thing in that sacristy. Shall Verres then remove what was universally esteemed most precious? Shall no one be permitted to retain any thing but him? Shall his house be adorned with the rich furniture of so many others? Have others abstained from these things, that it might remain with him to force them away? Did C. Claudius Pulcher restore this marble that Verres might make himself the owner? That Cupid did not require a residence devoted to libertinism and impurity, he was properly stationed in that hereditary sacristy; he knew that he was transmitted through the family, by a sacred entail, to Heius; he did not look to the heir of a harlot. But why am I thus borne

away by argument? For I am repulsed with one word: "I bought them," he says. An energetic defence forsooth! We have sent a pretty commercial Prætor to Sicily, for the sake of buying up the pictures, gold and silver plate, ivory, and gems, and to plunder every body of his property. Here rests his defence: that he purchased them. To begin then, let us grant that you purchased them, for you will plead your cause, in this way, throughout. I demand, in what manner you think equity is administered at Rome, if you imagine that you can escape with the plea of having purchased, when Prætor, articles so precious, so many goods in short, of every assignable value.

Mark well, my Lords, the vigilance of our ancestors, who, notwithstanding that they suspected nothing of this nature, took care to provide against what might happen in things of small moment. They never even dreamed that any one vested with proconsular authority, could be so rash as to purchase plate, or clothes; for they were allowed by law from the treasury, and looked upon as the Prætor's right. This law we all acknowledge, and Prætors are not supplied with these things from the community. It is enacted, "that property cannot be purchased, except the owner be deceased." Is it so with respect to the Prætors in the case of a person's

death at Rome? Certainly it is, as well as elsewhere. For they did not mean that you should decorate your house at the expense of the province, but carry with you the means of supplying the province with wealth. What then was the reason why they should have been so vigilant in preventing us from making purchases in the provinces? Plainly this, my Lords, for every thing was considered as a theft, and not a purchase, since the vender was not justified in disposing of goods at his own option. They were aware, that if permission was granted to any one vested with the prætorial authority, to purchase the property of another, the result would be, that he might get possession of what he chose, whether saleable or not. Some one may remark, do not deal thus with Verres, do not probe his deeds by the strict test of ancient laws; grant, that he should be considered the lawful purchaser, provided he bought the goods honestly; that he procured nothing by an unjust exercise of power: I will deal with him thus. If Heius had any thing for sale, and parted with it at his price, I will no longer ask why you purchased them. How now am I to act? Am I to have recourse to argument in a cause of this nature? I must inquire, I conceive, whether Heius owed any thing, whether he had a sale by auction; and if he had, whether

he was involved in such pecuniary difficulties, as to make it necessary for him to part with the ornaments of his sacristy, and sell the deities which he had inherited. I perceive that the man had no sale at all; that he never sold any thing, but the produce of his estate; that so far from being in debt, he was always in the full enjoyment of his income; and that even if things had not turned out prosperously with him, he would never have parted with what had been so many years in his family, and in the sacristy of his ancestors. Let us suppose, that he was tempted by the considerable sum. It is not even probable that so wealthy and honourable a man could prefer a sum of money, to the monuments of religion, which had been bequeathed him by his ancestors. The case is as I state it: nevertheless, people are sometimes led to swerve from their determinations, by the temptation of a large sum. Let us see what this sum was which could induce Heius, a very rich and liberal man, to depart from his reverence for the religion of his ancestors. You ordered him, I believe, thus to register it in his account-book: "All these statues of Praxiteles, Myron, and Polycletus, were sold to Verres, for six thousand five hundred sesterces."[7] Refer to the account-book.

(The account-book of Heius is read in court.)

I am rejoiced to find that these artists, who are extolled to the skies by the Greeks, are so depreciated by Verres. Here is a Cupid by Praxiteles, for one thousand six hundred sesterces!! No doubt this was the origin of the proverb, "Better buy than beg."

Somebody will say perhaps that I am estimating the value of these things at a high rate. I am not computing their price according to my own judgment, or for my own advantage, but am of opinion, that they should be rated according to the judgment of people conversant with works of art, and the value usually set upon them; in short, at as much as they would fetch, if publicly sold, or Verres himself would give for them. For if he had thought that Cupid worth four hundred pence, he surely would never have committed himself so much as to be the subject of conversation and public reproach. Which of my hearers is ignorant then of the value of these things? Have we not seen, in a public sale, a small bronze statue fetch one hundred and twenty thousand sesterces?[8] What if I were to name people who have not given less, nay, more? Do you think I cannot? The value is necessarily in proportion to the eagerness with which things of this description are sought, and it would be as difficult to set bounds to the one, as to the other. I

am clear therefore, that Heius was not induced to part with these statues voluntarily, by distress, or the temptation of a large sum. I am clear that with the pretext of buying, you exercised in an unjustifiable manner, your prætorial authority, to extort these things from a man who had fallen into your power, and was committed to your protection, together with the other Sicilians, by the Roman people.

Nothing would be more satisfactory to me, my Lords, than if Heius were able to confirm what I say; verily, nothing. But let us not hope to clear all difficulties. Heius is a citizen of Messana; that city alone is attached to Verres, and lavishes praises on him in her senate. To the rest of the Sicilians, he is an object of detestation; by the Messanians alone he is beloved. Heius headed the embassy which was sent to compliment him, he holding the chief rank in the city, with the view probably that while he discharged his public duties, he might be compelled to be silent on his private wrongs.[9] On revolving these circumstances, my Lords, I have nevertheless committed myself to Heius; for I summoned him as a witness in my first pleading, which I did however without any risk. And how could he have answered me, if he was an unprincipled man, which he is far from being? Was it possible

for him to say that he, and not Verres, retained the statues? Could he assert any such thing? Supposing him the most worthless and lying fellow, he would thus state the case; that he had the statues on sale, and that he had disposed of them for what he pleased. This respectable man, who particularly courts your good opinion, in the first place, said, that he joined in the praise of Verres, because he was so ordered; and in the second place, that he never intended to part with his property; that he was moreover unable, on any terms, to sell those things which were deposited in the sacristy, and which he had inherited from his ancestors.

Why do you keep your seat; what are you waiting for, Verres? Why do you give out that snares are laid for your destruction by the cities of Centuripe, Catine, Alæsa,[10] Tyndaris, Enna, Agyrium, and the other Sicilian towns? Messana, that other country of your's, to use your accustomed phrase, your own Messana, I repeat, the witness of your crimes, the pander of your lewdness, the receptacle of your thefts and depredations, circumvents you. Here is a nobleman of that city, who left his home for the sake of being present at this trial, who headed the mission sent to congratulate you; who even openly praises you, for he acted

under orders. But you well remember how he would answer, if he were interrogated respecting your speronara. He would say that it was built at the public expense, and that a senator of Messana superintended its construction professedly. This same man, my Lords, flies to you unobserved. He has recourse to the law which takes cognizance of the private and public property of our allies. The law to prevent extortion entitles him to the recovery of his money, which however he is not very solicitous to regain. He looks to you for the restoration of the sacred property which he inherited from his ancestors; he demands from you his household gods. Have you any shame, any fear, any religion left, Verres? You lodged with Heius at Messana; you saw him attend divine service in his sacristy daily. He is regardless of money; he does not therefore wish to recover his statues merely because they are ornamental. Keep the Canephoræ; but restore the effigies of the gods. Since this is his declaration, since he, who is an ally and friend of the Roman people, has modestly submitted his complaints to you at a stated time, since he has been very scrupulous not only in the observance of his religion in demanding the restoration of his objects of worship, but also in his testimony and oath; I would have you know that

Verres dispatched one of his officers to Messana, the same man who superintended the building of the speronara, to use his influence with the senate to brand Heius with infamy. O frantic man! what could be your object? Was you not aware of the authority which Heius had in Messana, of the esteem in which he was held by his fellow-citizens? But let us suppose you could gain your object, let us suppose the Messanians would decree something severe against Heius; of what weight do you think would their praise be, who should decree a punishment on him, who it is obvious spoke nothing but the truth in the deliverance of his testimony? But of what value is that praise, when the conferrer being questioned, heaps damnation on its object? Are not those your praisers, my witnesses? Heius praises you, and is highly injurious to your cause; I will summon others, who may conceal, if they will, what they are able: they must bear testimony to what is essential, whether they will or no. Will these deny that a large speronara was built at Messana? Let them, if they can; let them deny that a senator of that city publicly superintended the work. I only wish they would deny it! There are also other points which I wish to reserve untouched, that as little opportunity as possible may be allowed for the fabri-

cation, and consummation of perjury. Let this praise then which you have gained, serve for one reckoning; let the authority of these men be of service to you, who if they had it in their power, ought not to assist you, and if they willed it, are unable. These are the very men whom you have calumniated in private; this is the very city in which you have ruined many families, by your vile and infamous conduct. Professedly indeed you have come to terms with them, but not without being noxious to the republic, and the province of Sicily. It used to be their duty to furnish the Roman people with sixty thousand bushels of wheat annually, which you alone have neglected to send. The republic has suffered, because through you its authority is diminished in one city: the Sicilians have suffered, because this tribute of corn has not been deducted from the general stock, but transferred to the inhabitants of Centuripe and Alæsa; people governed by their own laws, who have had to bear alone the burthen of this tribute.

If you had acted according to the spirit of the treaty, it was your duty to order a vessel to be built; you delayed doing so for three years. During that time, you never even put a soldier in requisition. You have behaved in the way that pirates do, who though they be the com-

mon enemies of the public, take care to procure some friends whom they not only spare, but enrich, more especially those who have a harbour in a convenient situation, where it is sometimes necessary for them to moor their vessels.

The city of Phaselis,[11] which P. Servilius took, was not heretofore a receptacle of Cilicians and pirates. The Lycians, a nation of Grecian origin, dwelt there: like Messana, it is situated on a projecting point of land, so that the pirates were often compelled to take shelter therein. They appropriated that city to themselves; first by the monopoly of commerce, and afterwards by a ratified alliance. Messana heretofore bore a fair character, and never countenanced rascals. She had a suit with Caius Cato,[12] concerning army baggage. But what sort of man was he? Why, he was the grandson of the illustrious L. Paulus and Marcus Cato, and nephew of P. Africanus; and who, notwithstanding his being consul, was condemned. At that period, when the laws were strictly enforced, the damages stood in the city of Messana at eighteen thousand sesterces. The inhabitants nevertheless, bore him no ill-will, who have often expended for the entertainment of Timarchides,[13] a greater sum, than the going to law with Cato occasioned.

But Messana has now become a sort of Pha-

selis to that Sicilian free-booter and pirate. Hither every thing was carried, and left in charge to the inhabitants. If any plate was to be wrought, it was consigned to them and hid; it was through them that he contrived to embark, and export clandestinely what he chose: he took care, in short, that they should build a large vessel, to send to Italy loaded with his booty. For these services, he excused them from furnishing their quota of taxes, labour, militia, and every thing. For the space of three years, they alone, not only in Sicily, but I believe throughout the world, were utterly exempt from all duties, trouble, and taxes. Here it was that those scandalous deeds of Verres had their origin: here he ordered Sex. Comminius to be dragged into his banquet room, whose head he aimed at with his cup; whom he throttled in the midst of dinner, and ordered to be thrown into a dungeon in chains. Here was reared that cross, to which he attached a Roman citizen, in the presence of numerous spectators, which he would not have dared to put up any where, except in the city of those who were the accomplices of his thefts and crimes. Do you, Messanians, dare to come and bestow praise on any one? do you imagine it can have weight? Which do you think it should bias, the senatorial order, or the people?

I only ask, is there a city, either in our provinces, or most distant nations, either endued with power or freedom, with barbarism or ferocity; is there in short, any sovereign who would not shew hospitality to a Roman sénator? Which is not only a mark of respect to the individual, but to the Roman people at large, through whose favour, I belong to that rank. It is moreover a compliment to the senate, which unless it be highly respected by our friends, what will become of the dignity and power of the state? The Messanians did not give me a public invitation. With respect to myself, it was a matter of no consideration; but in refusing to invite a senator of the Roman people, they shewed want of respect to the order, not to the individual. For to Tullius himself, the doors of the splendid and spacious mansion of Cn. Pompeius Basiliscus were flung open: with whom, nevertheless, he would have lodged, even if he had received an invitation from you. There was an excellent house belonging to the family of the Parcennii, who also are of the family of Pompeius;[14] with these my brother Lucius lodged conformably to their wishes. A senator of the Roman people, you having it in your power to receive him, was compelled to pass the night in a public lodging at Messana. No other city ever behaved in this man-

ner. You summoned my friend to take his trial. Will you signify to the world my private concerns, by diminishing the dignity of the senate? But we will complain of these things hereafter, if the senate thinks proper to take cognizance of your behaviour in slighting them. With what insolence have you conducted yourselves in the eyes of the Roman people? Have you not yet removed that cross, nor committed it to the deep, which stood at your city harbour, stained with the blood of a Roman citizen? Have you not purified the spot before you entered Rome, and this seat of judgment? A monument of the cruelty of Verres is erected in a territory at peace, and in alliance with the republic. Is your city fixed upon as the place, where those who cross from Italy should meet the crucifix of a Roman, before he sees a friend of the republic? You exhibit this cross to the Rhegians, of whose city you are jealous: you exhibit it to your subjects, and to Roman citizens, that they might fall in their own estimation, and not think meanly of you, when they see the infringement of your laws punished with the infliction of tortures.

But you persist in declaring that you bought the statues, Verres. How then did you forget to purchase of Heius, those magnificent tapestries celebrated throughout Sicily? They were

as much in your power as the statues. What have you done? Did you order them not to be set down in the account-book? The truth is, this escaped the notice of the blockhead, who thought it would be less notorious to steal from the press, than from the sacristy. But how did he obtain them? I cannot state it clearer than in the words of Heius. When I asked him whether any of his goods had fallen into the hands of Verres, he replied, that he was commissioned to send the tapestries to him at Agrigentum. I asked, whether he had sent them; he said, that such was his duty, since he had heard the prætor give orders that they should be sent. I wanted to be informed whether they had arrived at Agrigentum; he replied, they had. I asked, if they had been restored; he answered, no. Laughter and murmurs resounded from the populace.

Did not Heius come to bid you remember that he should register these articles also, and set them down to your account at six thousand five hundred sesterces?" Was you apprehensive of increasing your debts, if they stood you in at so much? Articles which you might sell at any day, for two hundred thousand sesterces. If you paid such a sum, you might plead your cause with effect: no one would inquire into the value. If you can but prove that you

bought them, it would be easy to convince any one of the justice of your dealings; but you have no possible way of disentangling yourself from the dilemma of these tapestries.

Tell me now whether you bought, or swindled from Philarchus, a rich gentleman of Centuripe, those splendid horse-trappings, which, according to report, belonged to King Hiero? For so I heard, when I was in Sicily, both from the inhabitants of Centuripe and others. It is not less true that you robbed Philarchus of his harness, than that you deprived Aristus of Panormus, and Cratippus of Tyndaris, of theirs. If Philarchus had sold them to you, you would not have promised to return them, after you had stipulated to pay a fixed price. You were aware that many knew this; and if you had restored them, that you would only be a loser, and that your nefarious method of getting them, would still be notorious; you therefore took care not to return the harness. Philarchus, in the delivery of his testimony against you said, that when he was summoned in your presence, he denied having the trappings in his possession, aware of that rage of your's (to use the language of your friends), to get the ornaments copied by an engraver; and said, to prevent your finding them, that they were deposited elsewhere; but that such was your cunning, you contrived,

through him, to find the place of their concealment. He then acknowledged that he fell into your snares, and lost the harness, without getting an adequate compensation.

It is worth your while, my Lords, to know how all these things were searched and found. There were two brothers, by name Tlepolemus and Hiero, natives of Cibyra,[16] one was a modeller in wax, the other a painter. These, as I have heard, being suspected by their fellow-citizens, of having robbed the temple of Apollo at Cibyra of a statue, and dreading the punishment of the law, fled from their country. When Verres was in Asia, they became acquainted with him, knowing his passion for their trades, and as you have heard from the witnesses, consigned themselves to him as outlaws, when he came to Cibyra loaded with unanswerable bonds. At that period he retained them in his service, and he turned them to account in the thefts and plunders he committed when ambassador. These are the men in whose accounts Q. Tadius was registered, when he gave, by order of Verres, his property to the Grecian painters. These pettifoggers, perfectly skilled in their trade, he took with him to Sicily. The blood-hounds, as soon as they arrived, shewed such fine scent and activity, that either through threats or promises, slaves or

freedmen, friends or enemies, they were sure to trace the object of their search. Whatever pleased them was to be lost; those, whose plate was put in requisition, thought nothing more desirable than that it should displease Tlepolemus and Hiero. Indeed, my Lords, I can pledge the truth of this. I remember that Pamphilus, a gentleman of Lilybæum, who received me in his house and was my friend, told me, that when he was compelled to deliver up a large water-flagon, exquisitely carved by the hand of Boëthus, he returned to his house with sorrow and regret at having lost so fine a vase, which had been bequeathed him by his ancestors, and which he used to produce, in compliment to his friends, on days of festivity. "As I was sitting," he said, "in my house regretting what had been seized, a slave in the service of the temple of Venus Erycina[17] came in, and ordered me forthwith to produce to the prætor, my cups embossed in alto-relievo. I was surprized," he added; "I had two. I ordered them to be brought forth; and lest any thing worse should befall me, I determined to go with them to the prætor. When I arrived at his palace, he was taking his siesta: Tlepolemus and Hiero were walking about, who, when they saw me, cried, 'Where, friend Pamphilus, are your cups?' I displayed them with regret,

They gave me credit for being a good sort of man. I began to complain, that if they took these away, there would remain nothing of value in my possession. They then seeing me distressed, proposed, 'What will you give us, if we let you keep them?' They demanded two hundred sesterces; I offered one hundred. In the interim, the prætor summoned me in his presence. They told him, that according to what they had heard, they were at first of opinion that the cups were of some value, but that they now found they were trash, and not fit to stand on the side-board of Verres. The prætor observed, 'it appeared so to him." Therefore Pamphilus retained his cups, which were very good ones: and in troth, before I heard of this transaction, though I do not know how it came to pass to be thus adjusted, I was aware that the things were of no moment. I could not help wondering, however, that he should give proofs of any delicacy in affairs of this nature, for he never shewed any before. It was then that I discovered that these Cibyratic brothers were kept in his service, that he might employ their hands and their eyes in his system of plunder. But so ambitious is he of this honourable reputation of being thought intelligent in works of art, that it was but lately, (mark the folly of the man), during the adjournment of his trial, when he was looked upon as sure of being con-

demned to die, that he coolly inspected and examined the plate and counterpilts on the morning of the Circensian games, in the splendid dwelling of L. Sisenna, [18] and in the presence of respectable visitors. Some stared at his folly, that during his trial for rapine, he should do all he could to excite, not veil, suspicion; others at his madness, that in the interval of his adjourned trial, he should suggest any thing to witnesses, who had given so much evidence against him. The servants of Sisenna, I believe, who were aware of his character, took care to have their eyes upon him, and not leave the plate. It is the part of a good judge, my Lords, to draw inference of a person's abandoned propensity to thieve, from trifling circumstances. If he who was guilty, and whose trial was only adjourned, damned almost universally, could not abstain at a great assembly from examining and handling Sisenna's plate, can any one believe, that when prætor in a province, he could restrain his cupidity to possess that of the Sicilians? But to return to Lilybæum. [19] There is one Diocles, the son-in-law of Pamphilus, the same who lost the water-flagon; his surname is Popilius. From him he seized all the vases which were deposited in the recess of his dining room. Let him give out that he bought them; for I conclude that an account was made out in consequence of the magnitude of the theft. He

ordered Timarchides to rate their value. At what sum? Why, as lowly as an actor could. But I have begun wrong, who have already said so much about your purchases, and I must inquire whether you bought them at all, and if you did, for how much. One word will settle this. Let me see written, what plate you bought in Sicily; whence you got it, and at what price. What is the result? Strictly speaking, I ought to produce your accounts, and not require them of you. But you deny that you bargained for these things some years since. I demand that you explain the affair of the money: I will look to the rest.

(Here Verres probably was to answer, "I have no written documents, I cannot tell.")

What do you think will be the consequence? How do you imagine your judges can act? Your palace was filled with the finest statues before you was named prætor; you had several in your villas, several with your friends, several you bestowed as presents. Your account-book does not state that they were bought. In short, all the plate has been removed from Sicily, and nothing of value left with any one. Recourse is had to that wretched plea, that a prætor bought up all the plate; and yet he cannot prove that he did so, on the examination of his accounts. If you were able to produce them,

they would not state how you came possessed of any property whatever; notwithstanding you pretend that at this period you bought many goods, you are utterly unable to produce your accounts. Produced, or not, must you not necessarily be considered as guilty? You swindled from M. Cælius, a Roman knight, and most promising young man, the silver vases which you selected at Lilybæum; you did not hesitate to remove all the furniture of C. Cacurrus, a most obliging man, and of prepossessing manners. In the same city, you compelled Q. Lutatius Diodorus, to give up his beautiful citron table, on whom Sylla conferred the rights of Roman citizen, through the kindness of Q. Catulus, and this every body knows. I will not lay to your charge, that you cheated Apollonius, alias A. Clodius, an inhabitant of Drepanum,[20] the son of Nicon, a man exactly your counterpart, of all his service of plate. I am silent upon this: he does not think you did him an injury. You was of use to a man who had a halter round his neck, for having shared with you the property of his wards at Drepanum. I even congratulate you on having robbed him; and declare that you never did a better thing in your life. At the same time, you had no right to defraud Lyson, a man of consequence at Lilybæum, at whose house you

lodged, of his statue of Apollo. I am aware that you will say you bought it, for six hundred sesterces, I believe; I know you did. I can produce the account; at the same time you had no right to do it. Those wrought cups, which belonged to a young ward of Marcellus, whom you defrauded of a large sum, will you say that you embezzled or bought at Lilybæum? But why should I dwell on these petty larcenies? on these trivial injuries, which only affected those you robbed? Hear, my Lords, if you please, a circumstance of the same kind, that you may duly estimate not his avarice, but his extraordinary folly, his mania. There is one Diodorus of Melite, who has borne witness against him in your presence. He has inhabited Lilybæum many years, and wherever he went, recommended himself by his probity and good breeding. Verres was informed, that he had fine works in relief; among others, two cups termed Thericlean,[21] finely executed by Mentor. As soon as he heard it, he was so inflamed with the thirst not only of seeing, but possessing them, that he summoned Diodorus and demanded him to give them up. He, who derived much pleasure from retaining them, answered, that they were not at Lilybæum, that he had left them with a relation at Melite: Verres immediately dispatches confidential

agents to that island, writes to some of the inhabitants, that they should procure for him the vases, and begs Diodorus to write to his relation. The time passes heavily, while in expectation of the plate: Diodorus, a careful and active man, who wished to preserve his property, cautions his relation to tell the agents of Verres, that the cups were sent to Lilybæum a few days ago. As soon as the prætor heard this, he, beyond doubt, gave signs of ungovernable madness before all present. Because he was unable to make himself master of the plate, he swore that his finest vases were taken away by Diodorus; he dealt out threats against him; he called loudly for him; he could scarcely refrain from shedding tears. We read in fabulous story, that Eriphyle was so smitten with the lustre of a splendid necklace, composed of gold and gems, that she betrayed her husband's place of concealment.[22] The avarice of Verres is of this nature, only more violent, and of a madder cast. She only panted for what she saw; his passions were stimulated not only by eyes, but ears. He gives orders that search should be made throughout the province for Diodorus, who had removed his head-quarters from Sicily, and carried his plate with him. The man, to induce him to come back, devised this scheme: he suborns one of his blood-hounds to proclaim

that he wanted to arraign Diodorus for a capital offence. The public began to wonder that Diodorus, a most peaceable man, on whom not the slightest suspicion of an error, much less of crime, had ever fallen, should be considered as a guilty person. They presently discovered, that the possession of plate was his crime. He does not hesitate to impeach him, and it was then, I believe, for the first time, that he heard of his absence. It was notorious, throughout Sicily, that people were accused of crime, merely through this man's passion for engraved plate; and that several individuals, whether in or out of Sicily, were taxed with infringement of the laws. Diodorus, reduced to a state of wretchedness, wandered about Rome, relating the circumstance to his patrons and friends. Letters, couched in strong language, were sent from the father of Verres to his hopeful son: his friends also wrote to caution him against taking any further steps in opposition to Diodorus; to inform him that the affair was manifest; that Diodorus was stirring heaven and earth against him; that unless he minded what he was about, he would ruin himself by this one crime. At that period he had a sufficient sense of duty to consider his father, if not in the light of a relation, at least as belonging to the human race. He was not yet sufficiently stored with booty

to make himself amenable as a criminal; it was the first year of his government, and he was not, as in the case of Sthenius,[23] overflowing with plunder; so that his mania was for the moment, curbed by a sense of fear, not shame. He dares not condemn Diodorus; he cancels his name from the list of the accused. In the mean time Diodorus, during the three years of his prætorship, was exiled from his family and country. Several of the Sicilians, as well as Roman citizens, had determined to leave Sicily, for he made such strides for the gratification of his avarice, that they imagined no one would be able to retain what struck his fancy ever so little.

As soon as they understood that Q. Arrius was not to replace him in the government, which Sicily hoped from her soul would be the case, they were convinced that it was impossible to have any thing so locked up and hid, but what C. Verres would be sure to get. His next step was to embezzle from Cn. Calidius, whose son he knew was a senator of Rome, his beautiful little horses cast in silver, which had belonged to Q. Maximus. But I have made a mistake, my Lords, he bought them, he did not steal them. I wish I had not said what I have. Well then, let him ride triumphant on his little steeds, and exclaim, " I bought them, I have

paid the money." I believe you; the account can be produced. They cost so much. Shew me the statement of the sum. Wash him clean of this crime, while I cast up the account. How came it then that Calidius complained at Rome, that he, as well as the Sicilians, should be despised, maltreated, and robbed by you alone, during the many years that he was engaged in business in Sicily? If you bought, and he sold them voluntarily, how came it that he was able to prove that he demanded the restoration of his plate? Could you then take care that it should not be restored to Cn. Calidius, especially as he was intimate with L. Sisenna, a partizan of your's, and when you would not refuse to restore it to the rest of the friends of Sisenna?

I believe then you will say that you restored the plate, through your friend Potamon, to L. Cordius, a respectable man, but not of better manners than Calidius. This only makes the testimonies of your other accusers stronger: for when you had pledged the restoration of the articles, you refused to fulfil your promise, after Cordius had asserted in his testimony, that you had consigned them to him; for you were aware, that if you had let slip your plunder, you still could not escape the deposition against you. Cn. Calidius, a Roman knight, was allowed by

every other prætor, to retain his superb plate; he was allowed to decorate his banquet with his private effects, when any magistrate or person of high rank partook of his hospitality. Many persons of high authority frequented his house, but no one was mad enough to think of seizing his fine and costly plate; no one so audacious as to ask for it; no one so destitute of a sense of propriety as to request him to sell it. It is insupportable arrogance, my Lords, for a prætor in a province to say to a wealthy and respectable man, "Sell me your engraved vases;" just as if he were to say, "You are not worthy of having such fine things, they appertain more properly to a person of my rank." Are you, Verres, fitter for these things than Calidius? you, who gave eighty thousand sesterces to procure votes for your nomination as prætor; three hundred to silence one of your accusers. God forbid that I should compare his conduct and reputation with your's, for they will not admit of comparison; I only state the case of bribery, in which you certainly are his superior. And for this superiority, do you contemn and hold cheap the Roman knighthood; was it for this that you accounted Calidius less worthy of possessing what struck your notice than yourself?

He holds his head high now above Calidius,

and tells every body that he bought the silver horses. Tell me now whether you purchased of L. Papirius, an eminent and wealthy Roman knight, his censer; who, in the testimony delivered against you, swore, that when he lent it you to look at, you returned it with one of the reliefs torn off, to prove that you had taste, not avarice; that you was fond of art, not money. It was not with respect to Papirius alone, that he shewed this abstemious modesty; he pursued the same system in plundering all the censers besides in Sicily: it is incredible how numerous and beautifully wrought they were. I am of opinion, that when Sicily abounded with wealth and resources, art was carried to a high state of perfection in that island.[24] For there was no decent house, before his arrival as prætor, in which there was not to be found a censer, a charger inlaid with works in relief, and images of the gods, and a patera, which the women employed in the celebration of sacrifices, even if there was nothing else besides. All these were works of ancient artists, and elaborately wrought. It may be permitted us to suspect, that they had also family utensils for the service of their dinner-tables, but of which a change of fortune had deprived them, notwithstanding that they retained what was essential for their religious ceremonies. I re-

peat, my Lords, that nearly all the Sicilians were in possession of much property. I, the same man, do now proclaim, that they have nothing left. What is this? What monstrous abortion of nature have we sent into the province? Does he not appear to have acted thus, to satiate on his return to Rome, not merely his own greediness, but that of all the avaricious in the world? Did he visit any town? His Cibyratic blood-hounds were immediately unmuzzled, to get scent of what they could. If they discovered a large vase, or some considerable work of art, they promptly produced it; if they could not, they were presently on the scent for other things of that description. Large dishes, pateræ, and censers, were pitiful game for them. I leave you to imagine what lamentations, what tears, these thefts occasioned among the women, which perhaps may appear of trifling moment to you; they nevertheless cause deep distress to delicate females especially, when these utensils are wrested from them, which they were accustomed to employ in their sacrifices, which they inherited from their ancestors, and had been time immemorial in their family.

Do not expect, my Lords, that I can possibly trace this pilfering system from door to door. He robbed Æschylus the Tyndarite,[25] of

his patera; Thraso, of the same city, of his charger; and Nymphodorus, of Agrigentum, of his censer; I can interrogate witnesses from Sicily, and will leave him to select which he chooses, respecting his robbery of these articles. I can interrogate every town: no decent family can be found which has not suffered from his rapacity. If, my Lords, he ever went to a banquet, he could not eye any wrought plate without touching it. There is one Cn. Pompeius Philo, a native of Tyndaris; he invited Verres to dine at a villa in the territory of that city. He did there what no Sicilian would dare to do; and because he was a Roman citizen, thought he might do it with impunity. A dish was served up set with fine cameos: he kept his eye constantly fixed on this dish, and blushed not to remove from a friend's table, what was appropriated to the household gods. He restored the dish nevertheless, without any wish to retain it, but not without plucking out the cameos, which he did before, in another proof which I have given of his decorous conduct. Did he not treat Eupolemus of Calacte,[26] the intimate friend of the Luculli, and who is now serving under L. Lucullus, in the same manner? Verres dined with him; he produced all his silver plate, doubtless lest the prætor should steal it if out of his sight. Eupolemus

produced two cups, inlaid with gems: he, like an actor at an opera, took care to pick out the gems in the presence of the spectators, for fear of departing from the entertainment without some little present. I cannot enumerate all his pilferings; it is not indeed necessary; and if it was, I should be unable: I only seek to produce examples and proofs of his method of proceeding with regard to each individual. In these transactions he did not act as if one day or other he should be summoned to give an account of himself, but exactly as if he should never be arraigned as a criminal; or as if he had in view, that by seizing as much as possible, he might thereby diminish the danger of being brought to trial. He did not, I affirm, do these things craftily, or through agents and spies, but openly, with a professed exertion of authority.

When he came to Catinè,[27] a wealthy and populous city, he commanded that Dionysiarchus, the mayor, should be summoned in his presence; he publicly gave him orders to procure all the plate that was in Catinè, and deliver it into his possession. Did you not hear Philarchus of Centuripe,[28] a virtuous and wealthy man of rank, swear upon oath, that he commissioned him to extort all the plate from the citizens of that large and opulent town, and then

consign it to him? In the same manner, Apollodorus, whose testimony you have heard, was ordered to make away with all the Corinthian vases in the city of Agyrium,[29] and transport them to Syracuse.

I am now going to recite a noble trait in his character. When the indefatigable and duteous prætor arrived at Aluntium, he would not enter the town, because it is situated on an abrupt precipice, difficult of access. He summons in his presence Archagathus of that city, a man not only the first of his family, but also much respected by all the Sicilians. He commands him to bring instantly to the sea-shore all the plate and bronzes that could be found in Aluntium. Archagathus returns home. This nobleman, who sought the esteem and goodwill of his fellow-citizens, could not brook that it should devolve on him to be the bearer of so irksome an injunction. He did not know what to do: he proclaims the orders he received, and ordered each individual to produce what he had. The fear was extreme, for the tyrant was at hand, who was waiting for Archagathus and the plate, in his litter, on the shore beneath the town.

I leave you to imagine the concourse of people that assembled, the murmurs that were made, and the tears of the females that were

shed: they said the Trojan horse had entered their city, and that it must surrender. The vases were taken without their cases, some were wrenched from the hands of the women, many doors were burst open, and many bars broken. What do you think of this, my Lords? If ever a requisition is made of arms from private property, in times of war and tumult, people deliver them up unwillingly, though they are aware that it is for the general good. By no means then think that the Aluntians could produce their engraved plate, to fall into the hands of another, without the greatest reluctance. Every thing is carried to the prætor. The Cibyratic hell-hounds are called in; they discard a few articles: the mouldings and gems are wrenched off from those they approve. Thus the Aluntians were compelled to return home, with their silver vessels bereft of their choicest ornaments. Was ever such a drag-net [30] as Verres thrown over the province of Sicily. Bad prætors used to misapply the public monies as cunningly as possible, and they sometimes dared clandestinely to rifle private property. They nevertheless were condemned; and if you ask who were the accusers, (to remove this office from myself), they were those who were able to trace out the thefts committed by men of this description, from some slight printing of footsteps.

But how are we to act in the case of Verres, whose whole body is bedaubed with the splashings of his? Can it be a matter of difficulty to plead against him, who, as he passed a city, ordered his litter to wait for a moment, and plundered the inhabitants from door to door, not by any under-hand tricks, but openly, by one mandate, by a professed exercise of prætorial authority?[31] But to be able to hold forth that he bought these goods, he commissioned Archagathus to give a paltry sum to the proprietors of silver plate: Archagathus found a few who were ready to accept what he gave. He did not, however, repay Archagathus, who sought for redress at Rome. Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus dissuaded him, as you have heard him say. Read the testimonies of Archagathus and Lentulus.

(The testimonies of Archagathus and Lentulus are read in court.)

Do not imagine that the man wished to collect so great a number of ornamental devices, without an adequate reason. Mark how deeply he is impressed with a proper sense of respect for you, the Roman people, the laws, the tribunals, the Sicilian merchants, and those who are come to arraign him. After he had collected so many reliefs, that nothing longer remained in possession of any one, he opened a vast shop in the palace at Syracuse, where all the manu-

facturers of plate and vases were ordered to attend. A great concourse of people was there brought together, and he had many in his own pay. For eight whole months these men were continually employed in the manufacture of solid gold plate: he then soldered in his golden vases, with such taste, the cameos which he had torn from the censers, dishes, and pateræ, that you would declare they were expressly made for each respectively. This same prætor, who gives out that through his vigilance Sicily was at peace, used to preside at this laboratory for the greater part of the day, dressed in black. I scarcely venture, my Lords, to state these facts, lest, peradventure, you should say that you have heard more concerning him from common report, than from me in court. For who is there that has not heard of this shop, of the golden vases, and of his black apparel? Name any respectable man of Syracuse; he shall bear witness to what I declare. There is no one verily, who can say that he has not seen or heard of these transactions.

O the corruption of the times! O the degeneracy of our manners! I will not quote examples of ancient date. Many of you, my Lords, were acquainted with L. Piso, the father of that Piso who was prætor.[32] When prætor in Spain, (where he met his death), by some acci-

dent or other, as he was fencing, a gold ring which he wore was broken: he wished to replace it by another, and ordered a goldsmith at Corduba to attend him in the forum, to whom he publicly weighed out the gold: he ordered a chair to be placed for him in the forum, and a ring to be manufactured in the presence of the by-standers. Perhaps you will say this was going too far. Let any one cavil at it if he pleases, and we will have done with it. But he cannot deny the truth of my statement. He was the son of that L. Piso, who first instituted a law against bribery. It is ridiculous for me now to revert to Verres, after dwelling on the rigid discipline of Piso Frugi. But only mark the contrast. As the one was moulding golden vases for his sideboard, he used his utmost exertions that it should not only be notorious throughout Sicily, but also in a criminal court at Rome: the other, in an affair of half an ounce of gold, wished all Spain to understand how it came into his possession. As Verres[33] proved the meaning of his name, so indeed did Piso of his surname. It is impossible for me to remember, or include in my oration, all his nefarious dealings. I only wish to expose briefly, the nature of his depredations; indeed this ring of Piso has suggested what would otherwise have escaped me. How many men of rank do you imagine he deprived

of the rings they wore on their fingers? He never refrained from seizing any cameo or intaglio belonging to another, which struck his fancy. It may appear incredible, but it is so manifest, that I do not think he will himself deny it. When Valentius, his agent, received a letter from Agrigentum, Verres happened to notice the impression of a seal on the letter; it hit his fancy, and he asked, "Whence came the letter?" Valentius replied, "From Agrigentum." The prætor immediately wrote to his agents in that city, to send the seal as soon as possible. In consequence of this letter, L. Titius, a Roman citizen, was robbed of his seal. His cupidity was insatiable; for though it would appear that he exceeded all bounds in furnishing his dining-rooms not only at Rome, but in all his villas, with three hundred couches decorated with rich counterpilts, still there was no wealthy house in Sicily, which he did not turn into a furnishing warehouse.

There is a certain lady of Segesta,[34] extremely rich, Lamia by name, and of good family. For three years her house was stocked for him, with carpets and works in embroidery; every article was dyed with purple. There is Attalus, a wealthy man of Neætum;[35] Lyso, at Lilybæum; Critolaus, at Enna;[36] Æschrio, Cleomenes, and Theomnastus, at Syracuse; Archo-

nides and Megistus, at Elorus.[37] My voice will fail me before I can enumerate them; he furnished, I believe, the purple dyes; his friends, the manufactures. It does not suit me now to charge him with every thing. As if it would not be sufficient reason for his condemnation, that he had so much to give away; that he wished to remove so much, and that, what he himself allows, employed his friends in traffic of this description. Do you believe, my Lords, that any bronze bedsteads and chandeliers, were manufactured at Syracuse, during three years, for any one, but him alone? He bought them. I give him credit for having bought them.[38] I only, my Lords, beg to inform you, what he did in the province when prætor, lest he should appear not to have feathered his nest sufficiently when he had it in his power.

I am now going to state a case, that can neither be termed mere theft, avarice, or cupidity; but a deed of such atrocity, that it may be said to combine all imaginable crimes; in the perpetration of which, the sanctity of the gods has been violated; the esteem and authority of the Roman people diminished; the duties of hospitality subjected to craft and violence; and the affection of the kings in alliance with Rome, and in allegiance to Syria, alienated from the republic. You are aware, my Lords,

that the young Syrian princes, the sons of Antiochus, were lately at Rome. They did not come to have their right to that kingdom ratified; for that, they beyond dispute, were entitled to, as heirs to their fathers and ancestors; but they were of opinion, that the kingdom of Egypt devolved on them, in right of their mother, Selenè. This the senate could not assent to, in consequence of the state of affairs. They therefore departed for their own country, Syria. One of them, by name Antiochus,[39] wished to make a tour in Sicily, and duly arrived at Syracuse, in the proconsulate of Verres.

Upon this, our prætor imagined himself come into possession of a large inheritance; since one had fallen into his power, whom he had heard, and suspected to have many things of value in his retinue. He orders some considerable presents to be sent to the prince, for the supply of his kitchen; as much wine and oil as was necessary, and a sufficient quantity of wheat, from his magazine of tithes.[40] He then invites the prince to dine. His couch is magnificently and elegantly adorned; and his finest plate, of which there was a great profusion, produced. He had not at that time manufactured his golden vessels. He takes care in short, that the banquet should be spendidly served. And the young prince leaves the en-

tertainment with the idea that his host possessed much wealth, and had feasted him sumptuously. In his turn, he gives a dinner to the prætor, displays all his wealth, a considerable quantity of silver plate, with many golden goblets, which as suited for royal use, especially in Syria, were inlaid with exquisite gems. There was also a wine decanter, hollowed out of a single gem of large size, with a golden handle. You have heard, I believe, Q. Minucius, a respectable witness, state what I do. Immediately our prætor begins to handle, gaze at, and admire every utensil; and the prince is pleased, that his entertainment answers so well the expectations of a magistrate of the Roman people. After he had departed from the festival, he thought of nothing, as the circumstance itself declares, but how to rob the prince, and send him pennyless from Sicily. He asks permission to see the vases, which struck his fancy the most; pretending that he wanted to shew them to his artists. The prince, ignorant of the sort of man he had to deal with, willingly lent them, without entertaining the slightest suspicion; he sends also to request the loan of the gem-decanter, stating that he wished to inspect it minutely. That also is consigned to him.

I have now, my Lords, to request your particular attention on the subject of an event,

which has not now for the first time been disclosed to you, and the Roman people. Indeed, the noise of it has spread to foreign nations, and the remotest parts of the earth. These princes brought with them to Rome, a magnificent chandelier, set with precious stones, to be deposited in the capitol. As the temple was not completed, they were unable to make their deposit, and consequently were unwilling to make a public exhibition of their present, which, to appear of the greater importance, was to be placed, at an appointed time, in the cell of the temple consecrated to the omnipotent omniscient Jupiter; and that it should strike the attention more, was to be suddenly exhibited in public. They resolved on carrying it back with them to Syria, that when they heard of the consecration of the statue of the God, they might dispatch ambassadors to be the bearers of that splendid present, as well as of other offerings. Somehow or other, this circumstance was made known to Verres. The prince had wished it should be concealed, not that he apprehended its seizure, but that as few as possible should see it, before it was consigned to Rome. Verres, in the most importunate manner, requests that it should be sent to him; he says he wishes to inspect it, and promises that no one shall see it but himself.

Antiochus, who was of a loyal and unsuspecting disposition, never dreaming of his vile intentions, orders his servants to carry it well packed, and with as much secrecy as possible, to the prætorial palace. As soon as they had deposited and unpacked it, he exclaims, that it is a present worthy of the kingdom of Syria, worthy of a prince, worthy of the capitol. As indeed he might, for it was of that brilliance which only proceeds from the brightest gems; of that variety of ornament, that art might be said to contend with the number of the materials; of that size, that it might appear appropriated not for human, but divine service.

As soon as he appeared to the bearers sufficiently to have gratified his curiosity, they prepare to carry it back. He declares that he wishes to examine it again, and again; that he can never be satiated with looking at it. He orders them to go, and leave the chandelier. They return to Antiochus without their charge. The prince at first, apprehended nothing, suspected nothing. One day passes; another; many: it is not restored. The prince then sends, that if agreeable to him, he should be obliged if he would return it. Verres orders the prince's servants to come for it at a later hour. Antiochus wonders at the delay, and sends again. No answer. He calls upon him, and

entreats him to restore the chandelier. Mark the barefacedness and singular arrogance of the man. He began to beg and vehemently demand what he heard was destined for the capitol, from the prince's own mouth, what he saw was especially preserved for the omniscient omnipotent Jupiter, and for the Roman people. The prince answered, that he was prevented from complying with his wishes, out of respect for religion, and public opinion, for he was to make this present to the capitol, in the eyes of numerous nations. Verres has recourse to the severest threats; but when he sees that the prince is no more to be influenced by them, than by prayers, he orders him to depart from the province before night, pretending that he had discovered that pirates were on their way from Syria to Sicily. The prince, in the presence of a great assembly at Syracuse, in the forum, (let none imagine I am engaged in an obscure cause, or that I tax him with any thing, merely through general suspicion,) in the forum, I repeat, of the city of Syracuse, with tears in his eyes, as he called the gods and men to witness, began to complain loudly that Caius Verres had forced from his hands that chandelier embossed with gems, which he had destined for the splendid temple of the capitol, to stand there as a monument of the alliance that

subsisted between Syria and the Roman people; that he was indifferent with respect to the fate of his other effects in gold and gems, but that it was shameful and not to be endured that he should be deprived of this; that though it was sufficiently sacred in his, and his brother's estimation, he nevertheless had made it more so, by dedicating and consecrating it to the omniscient omnipotent Jupiter, whom he had called to witness the sincerity of his wishes and religion.

What voice, what expansion of ribs, what powers of eloquence can suffice to paint this transaction in its true colours? The prince Antiochus, who almost always appeared in public at Rome, with a splendid and royal retinue, at once the ally and friend of the Roman people, as were his father, grandfather, and ancestors, most ancient and illustrious sovereigns, himself heir to an opulent and extensive kingdom, is treated as an outcast in a province of the Roman people! How do you imagine foreign nations will receive this? What effect do you think the report of your conduct will have in distant kingdoms, and the utmost limits of the earth, when they shall be apprized that a prince was robbed by a prætor of a Roman province, who was his guest, and the especial friend and ally of the Roman people? Rest assured, my Lords,

that if this crime escapes unpunished, both your name, and that of the Roman people, will be held in abhorrence by foreign nations. This will be the universal sentiment, especially as the belief of the avarice and cupidity of our magistrates has generally obtained, as well as the idea that this was not the deed of Verres alone, but also of those who winked at his crime. Many kings, and free states, many private persons of property intend indeed to embellish the capitol, in a manner that corresponds with the dignity and lustre of our empire, as soon as they shall have understood that you have taken due cognizance of, and disproved this embezzlement of royal property; they will moreover think, that their zeal and offerings will be acceptable to you, and the Roman people. But if they should understand that you overlooked this outrage against so great a sovereign, in so glaring a case, in so manifest a guilt, they will not be mad enough to devote their thoughts, money, and trouble to the purchase of things, in which they believe you to be indifferent.

Here, Quintus Catulus,[41] I call upon thee. I am speaking of your splendid and beautiful ornament. It belongs to you, not only to reprobate this crime, with the severity of a judge, but even with that of an enemy, or accuser.

Your glory is raised with that temple, through the kindness of the Roman senate and people; your name and that temple are together consecrated. It is your duty, it devolves on you to take care that by how much the more magnificently it has been restored, so it should be adorned; that that thunderbolt may appear to have been darted from heaven, not for the sake of destroying the shrine of the omniscient omnipotent Jupiter, but of requiring a more spacious and magnificent fabric[42] for his residence.

You have heard Q. Minucius Rufus state that prince Antiochus lodged with him at Syracuse; that he knew the chandelier was carried to, and not restored by Verres. You have heard, and will hear in every assembly at Syracuse, people declare they understood, that it was dedicated and consecrated by prince Antiochus, to the omniscient omnipotent Jupiter. If you were not a judge,[43] and the investigation of this crime not committed to you, it would still be your part to inquire into the particulars. I therefore am no longer at a loss to know your sentiments of this crime, you being a judge, since you ought to be a more strenuous pleader and accuser, in the presence of any other judge, than myself.

But, my Lords, is it possible for any thing

to appear more intolerable, more outrageous than this? Shall Verres possess that chandelier, composed of gold and precious stones, designed for the service of the great God? Which was to irradiate the interior of his temple? Shall that, I say, decorate his banquet polluted with lust and obscenity? In the house of that vile debauchee, shall the ornaments of the capitol be placed on the same table, as the jewels of Chelidon?[44] What do you think he can ever hold sacred, what must his religion be, if he is not aware of the atrocity of such a crime? Who must stand his trial without having it in his power to supplicate Jupiter, and demand his aid, as is usual; from whom the immortal gods themselves demand the restitution of their property, at the same tribunal that men do their's? Can we wonder that he violated the temple of Minerva at Athens, that of Apollo at Delos, that of Juno at Samos, that of Diana at Perga, and several others throughout Asia and Greece, if he was unable to resist from plundering the capitol?[45] That fane, which private persons do, and are about to adorn, from their private purses, C. Verres has not allowed to be embellished by kings. Therefore, after he had imagined this crime, he esteemed nothing afterwards as sacred throughout Sicily; in which pro-

vince, during three years, he so conducted himself, that he was believed to wage war at once with heaven and earth.

Segesta, my Lords, is a very ancient Sicilian city; which, it is proved, was founded by Æneas, when a refugee from Troy, coming into that quarter. The Segestans therefore consider themselves as connected by a perpetual alliance and strict intimacy with Rome. This city formerly was captured and destroyed by the Carthaginians, when it undertook a war of itself against them; and every thing ornamental was transported to Carthage. The Segestans had in their possession a very fine bronze statue of Diana, to which they attached, from time immemorial, the highest veneration. It was beautifully wrought; when it was transferred to Carthage, it only changed its place of abode and worshippers; there also respect was paid to it as of old; for even enemies thought it worthy of marked attention, from its exquisite beauty. Some centuries afterwards, P. Scipio in the third Punic war, took Carthage. After his victory, (note, I beseech you, the virtue and activity of that general, that you may be pleased with a national example of spendid virtue, and consequently judge the insolence of Verres as meriting the greater reprehension,) he assembled all the Sicilians, and ordered their effects to be

gathered together; for he knew that Sicily had been frequently and sorely vexed by incursions of the Carthaginians. He promised to use his utmost endeavours to restore to the inhabitants of each city, their respective properties. It was then that the things which had formerly been removed from Himera,[46] of which I have previously spoken, were restored to the inhabitants of Thermæ, some to the Gelensians,[47] others to the Agrigentines. Among the last, was that celebrated bull, which Phalaris, the most cruel of tyrants, is said to have preserved, and in which he used to enclose criminals alive, while he applied fire underneath. Scipio, when he restored this infernal machine to the Agrigentines, is reported to have said, that it would be well for them to weigh, whether it would be more advantageous for the Sicilians, to be governed by their own sovereigns, or by the Roman people, since they possessed at once a monument of their own ferocity, and of our clemency.

At that period, the Diana I have been speaking of, was restored with much pomp to the Segestans, and replaced in its ancient receptacle, to the great joy and satisfaction of the citizens. It was placed on a lofty pedestal, which exhibited the name of P. Africanus engraved, and declared that it was re-instated by

him, at the fall of Carthage. It was worshipped by the inhabitants, and visited by all strangers. When I was quæstor, they shewed it me in preference to every thing else. It was a colossal statue, and robed;[48] but, notwithstanding its size, a virginal age and air was conspicuous. The quiver was suspended from her shoulder; her left hand held the bow, and her right extended a burning torch. As soon as this sacrilegious plunderer noticed it, as if set on fire by the torch, he was immediately inflamed with a mad cupidity to have it in his possession. He orders the magistrates to take it down, and consign it to him, stating that it would be impossible to oblige him more than by so doing. They replied, that they were prohibited by law, as well as by a sense of religion; he repeated his solicitations, having alternately recourse to threats, hopes, and the inspiration of fear. They answered him in the name of Scipio Africanus, and added it was a present of the Roman people, that it was not with them to dispose of what that consummate general designed as a monument of the conquest of Carthage. He daily urges with vehemence his solicitations, and the circumstance is referred to the senate; where the surrender of the statue is violently opposed, and positively denied, at his first arrival in the assembly. He afterwards imposed additional

burdens on the levying of naval equipments, and in the exaction of corn from the Segestans, in a greater degree than they could well bear. He summoned moreover the magistrates in his presence, and selected the most distinguished of their body. He rifled all the market-places in their territory; he declared to one after another, that their refusal would only be productive of misery to themselves, and threatened to destroy the whole city from its foundations. The Segestans at length, intimidated by his threats, decreed to submit to the will of the prætor. With the greatest grief, tears, and lamentations of the male and female inhabitants of the city, it is enacted that the statue of Diana be removed. Mark, my Lords, how religiously it was preserved by the Segestans; be assured there was found no freeman, no slave, no citizen, no foreigner, who dared to touch it. Know, that certain foreign workmen were summoned from Lilybæum to remove it. They dislodged it for a stipulated sum, not aware of the reason of its removal, or of the respect in which it was held. I leave you to imagine the multitude of women assembled on this occasion, and the weepings of the elders, some of whom recollected the day, when that same Diana was brought back from Carthage, and proclaimed by its return, the victory of the

Roman people. How different was that day from this! Then a most distinguished general of the Roman people restored to the Segestans their own gods recovered from a hostile city; now, from an allied city, an abominable prætor of that very same people, sacrilegiously made away with those identical gods. What is more notorious throughout Sicily than that all the Segestan matrons and virgins assembled to witness the removal; that they perfumed it with spikenard; that they crowned it with flowery chaplets; that they followed it to the confines of their territory; burning, as they went, frankincense and odours?

If, Verres, when governor, your cupidity and insolence overwhelmed all sense of religion, do you not now shudder in consequence of its violation, at the urgency of your case and that of your children? What man will fly to your assistance, in opposition to the immortal gods; what god do you think will be propitious to you, so deeply implicated in sacrilege? Could not that Diana inspire you with religious duty at a period of repose and security? She, who had witnessed the destruction of either of the cities, in which she was stationed? She, who had twice escaped the fire and sword of two destructive wars, who did not lose her veneration by the victory of the Carthaginians; and recovered

it at her first residence, through the generosity of P. Africanus?

After the perpetration of this crime, when the pedestal with the name of Africanus inscribed, was bereft of its ornament, all thought it scandalous and intolerable, that not only the sanctity of religion was violated, but that the glory of the deeds of the immortal Scipio, the monument of his virtue, the trophy of his victory, should be despoiled by C. Verres. When he heard of the inscription on the pedestal, he concluded that the whole affair would be forgot, provided he could effect the removal of that pedestal, which proclaimed his outrage. They therefore decreed by his orders, that it should be removed. This has been confirmed to you, my Lords, in the deposition of the Segestans against him, which was read in my first pleading.

Thee now, Publius Scipio, thee, I invoke, O illustrious, accomplished youth! I demand thy interposition, due to thy family and name. Why dost thou exert thyself in his defence, who has robbed thee of thy praise, and family honour? Why dost thou wish him to be defended? Why is it for me to undertake thy cause? Why am I to bear the weight of it? Marcus Tullius Cicero demands the monument of Publius Scipio Africanus! P. Scipio defends

him who forced it away![49] Since it is an established custom, that every one should so defend the monuments of his ancestors, as not even to allow another to inscribe them with his name, dost thou come forward in *his* cause, who has not merely altered the situation of thy monument, but fundamentally removed and destroyed it? Is there any one, in the name of heaven, to defend the memory of the deceased Scipio? to protect the trophy, and proof of the valour of thy ancestors, if thou dost abandon them? If thou not only sufferest it to be removed, but defendest the free-booter? Here are the Segestans, thy dependants, the allies and friends of the Roman people, to declare to thee, P. Scipio, that P. Africanus restored to their ancestors, the effigy of Diana, after the destruction of Carthage; that it was dedicated in the city of Segesta, with his name inscribed; that Verres removed it; and effaced the inscription of the name of P. Scipio; they entreat thee, they conjure thee to restore the praise due to thy name and family; that what they recovered through Africanus, from a hostile city, may be rescued by thee, from the house of a despoiling robber. Canst thou answer them satisfactorily? Canst thou do any thing to Verres, without their supplicating thy assistance? They are here with their prayers. It rests with thee,

Scipio, to protect the greatness of thy name; it rests with thee. Thou hast all the advantages, which fortune and nature can heap on man. I do not anticipate the honour of thy task; I seek not the praise due to another. I am not to be reproached with being the defender and avenger of the monuments of P. Scipio, when thou, illustrious youth! art still alive. If, then, thou undertakest to plead in defence of thy own name, it will not only be my duty to be silent on this occasion, but likewise to rejoice at the fortune of the deceased Africanus, whose reputation is defended by one of his own family, and does not require adventitious support. But if a friendship for Verres should prove an obstacle, if you think this measure which I demand is not strictly appropriated to you, I will be your substitute; on me shall devolve that duty, which I believed to belong to another. Let our famed and long established nobility no longer complain, that the Roman people commits willingly, and always committed this honourable part to industrious heads of families. It ought not to be a subject of complaint that virtue can effect much in that city, which triumphs over the world by its virtue. Let others have the statue of P. Africanus; let others be honoured by the virtue and reputation of the deceased. So great was that man,

so well deserving of his country, that he merits the praise, not only of one family, but of the whole state. I then must use my strenuous endeavours, as belonging to that city, which he increased, and rendered illustrious by his exploits; especially since as far as lies in my power, I am used to those exercises of the mind, in which he shone, to equity, industry, temperance, to the protection of the good, and to the hatred of the bad; and the association of these qualities is not less valuable, than that respect and high birth, of which you think so highly.

I demand of thee, Caius Verres, the restitution of the monument of P. Africanus. I have nothing to do for the present with the cause of the Sicilians, which I have undertaken to defend. Let there be now no cognizance taken of monies procured unjustly; let the wrongs of the Segestans for the moment be obliterated; but let the pedestal of P. Africanus be restored; let the name of the invincible general be engraved; let the exquisite statue rescued from Carthage be replaced. It is not the defender of the Sicilians, it is not your accuser, it is not the Segestans, who require this of you; it is he, who has undertaken to preserve inviolated the glory of P. Africanus. I am not afraid of displaying my zeal in the presence of Publius Servilius,[50] the judge, who having executed the

most splendid exploits, and having raised thereby his own monument, devotes his time to the pursuit of glory, and certainly wishes to transmit to posterity the monuments of his actions, to be defended by the virtuous, from the depredations of plunderers.

I am satisfied it will not displease thee, Quintus Catulus, whose noblest and most conspicuous monument is established by the opinion which you cherish, that all the good are the guardians of monuments, that the defence of the glory of others appertains to them. In contemplating the other thefts and crimes of Verres, I feel so affected as only to think them severely reprehensible; but in this, I am so overwhelmed with grief, that nothing can appear to me more intolerable and scandalous. Shall he decorate his palace filled with lust, rapacity, and shame, with the monuments of Scipio? Shall Verres place the statue of the virgin Diana, a monument of a temperate and religious man, in that house of his, the sink of whoredom, and iniquity?

But have you been satisfied with the violation of this monument of Africanus? What! Did you not remove the fine statue of Mercury, presented to the Tyndarites, by the same Scipio? And in what manner? Great God of heaven, with what unbridled insolence, and audacity!

You have lately heard the deputies from Tyndaris, excellent men, and of high rank, depose, that the Mercury which was worshipped by the inhabitants, on annual festivals, which P. Africanus, after the fall of Carthage, presented to them, as a token of reciprocal faith, and monument of his victory, was forcibly removed by his unjustifiable and criminal orders; who on his arrival in that city, not only as if a matter of right, but of necessity, as if the senate and Roman people had commissioned him to do it, gave instant orders that the statues should be pulled down, and removed to Messana. This transaction appeared scandalous to those who witnessed it, to those, who only heard of it, incredible; he did not, however, persist in the execution of his order, on his first arrival. At his departure, he bids Sopater, the mayor, whose testimony you have heard, pull the Mercury down. On his refusing to comply, he adds violent threats, and then leaves the town. The mayor states the circumstance to the senate, who are unanimous in reclaiming it; Verres presently returns, and urges his demand for the statue; he receives as answer, that the senate cannot accede to his wish; that it is with them a capital crime, if any one touch the statue without the senate's permission. They mention also the veneration in which it was held. "What have

I to do with your religion," he replies, "what with your punishments, what with your senate? If you do not instantly deliver the statue, you shall be flogged to death."

Sopater, in tears, carries his message to the senate, and represents the eagerness and menaces of the prætor. The senate returns no answer to Sopater, but breaks up in violent agitation. He, summoned by one of the prætor's servants, states the case; the prætor answers: "My commands must be obeyed." And these things took place, (for I must not omit any trait of his arrogance,) in the presence of the public, from a curule chair, placed in a commanding situation. It was the depth of winter; the season, as you have heard Sopater himself state, was inclement; it rained hard; notwithstanding, he orders the lictors to hurry Sopater from the portico where he was sitting, towards the forum, and strip him naked. Scarcely were these commands delivered, before he was stripped, and environed by lictors. It was the general opinion, that the unhappy and innocent man was doomed to be flogged. It was not well-grounded. "Can he cut to pieces without cause (they said), a friend and ally of the Roman people? he is not quite so bad yet; all crimes are not centered in him; he never shewed a propensity to cruelty; he received Sopater with mildness

and affability." In the midst of the forum at Tyndaris, there are equestrian statues of the Marcelli, as in nearly all the other Sicilian cities. Of these, he pitched upon one of Caius Marcellus, whose benefits to Tyndaris, as well as to all Sicily, were considerable, and of late date. He orders Sopater, who is of noble family, and vested with authority, to sit cross-legged on one of the statues, and to be strapped to it. Every body must be impressed with a sense of the pain, which such a situation must have occasioned to a person bound naked to a bronze statue, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather. Nor was there an end to this outrage, till the multitude, touched with compassion at his situation, compelled the senate with their murmurs to promise the surrender of the statue to Verres. They cried, that the gods would revenge his cruelty, but that it was not for them to suffer an innocent man to die. The senate in a body, goes to him, and promises the statue; and Sopater, almost stiff with cold, is taken down nearly lifeless. If I wished it, I should be unable here to accuse his conduct in due order; to do so, not only genius, but a wonderful dexterity is necessary. It appears to me, that this one crime, and which is stated by me as such, is constituted of many; but how to distinguish and analyze them, I know not. It

is a crime of larceny, for he forced a valuable statue from our friends; it is a crime of peculation, since he has not hesitated to bear off an image, the common property of the Roman people, which was taken as booty from our enemies, and had our general's name inscribed; it is a crime against the state, since he has dared to overturn and carry off the monuments of the glory of our empire, and military exploits; it is a crime of impiety, for he has violated religion; it is a crime of cruelty, for he has devised a new and unparalleled method of punishment, to a man who is at once our friend, and innocent. I cannot indeed now enter upon the nature of the offence, neither do I know how to term this outrage against the statue of Marcellus. What had he in view? Was it that he was the owner? Was it that he meant by this transaction, to assist or injure the cause of our dependants and friends? Did you do it to prove that no owner of property could keep his goods secure against your rapacity? Who would not understand by this that there is greater power in the mandate of a worthless fellow present, than in the protection of the virtuous, who are absent? Was it that you meant to signify this, by that inveterate obstinacy and pride of your's? You probably hoped to detract from the glory of the Marcelli. Forsooth the Marcelli are no longer to be con-

sidered the patrons of the Sicilians; Verres is become their substitute.[51] What merit, what virtue do you imagine centered in you, as to make you endeavour to transfer to yourself so illustrious a patronage of so splendid a province, from its ancient and acknowledged possessors? Do you fancy that by that folly and sluggishness, you are able to patronize even a Sicilian of the lowest rank, as well as a whole province? Was it for you to turn the statue of Marcellus into a crucifix, on which to fasten the dependants of the Marcelli? Did you seek to inflict punishment on those, who held him in honour, with a monument of that very honour? Do you mean that your statues hereafter should be turned to the same use? But the Tyndarites pulled down his statue, though he ordered it to be raised on a higher pedestal close to the Marcelli, as soon as they had experienced this outrage.

The fortune of the Sicilians has therefore assigned C. Marcellus to be your judge, who decrees, that you be tied hand and foot to the same statue to which you strapped the Sicilians during your proconsulate. And first, my Lords, he gave out that the Tyndarites sold this statue of Mercury to C. Marcellus Æserninus; he hoped therefore, that this same Marcellus would plead his cause, which never appeared probable

to me, that a young man born at Tyndaris, and a friend of the Sicilians, would lend his name to countenance such a crime. I have nevertheless taken such precautions, that even if he be detected as an accomplice, and ready to bear the blame of Verres, such a measure would effect nothing. For I can summon such witnesses, and produce such documents, that there can be no doubt of the guilt of Verres. There are written documents, and I do proclaim, that the Mercury was transported to Messana. They ask, for how much? I say that Poleas was commissioned to do it. Where is Poleas? Here he is. Listen to his testimony.

(Here Poleas is brought to the bar, and says, "It was removed by order of Sopater the mayor.")

Where is he who was strapped to the statue? Call him in. Listen to his deposition.

(Here Sopater probably gave his deposition, and having done so, left the court.)

You have seen the man, and heard his testimony. Demetrius, the gymnasiarch, saw that it was pulled down, for it was his office. I say that he himself was present. And it was but lately, that Verres promised at Rome to restore to the deputies from Tyndaris the statue, if they would not deliver their testimony against him. Zosippus and Hismenias have deposed this, who are noblemen of Tyndaris.

What! did you not plunder from the holy temple of Æsculapius,[52] at Agrigentum, another monument of the same Scipio, I mean that exquisite statue of Apollo, which exhibited the name of the sculptor Myron, inscribed in small silver letters in the inside of the thigh? When he attempted this clandestinely, my Lords, the whole city was thrown into a ferment, as he employed for this purpose, his nefarious agents. The Agrigentines unanimously demanded to retain, what was considered as ornamental to their city, a monument of the kindness and prowess of Scipio, and a pledge of their alliance with the republic. The nobles therefore gave orders to the questors and ediles, to mount a nightly watch about the temple. For Verres by no means dared to force away publicly, or even to request at Agrigentum what pleased his taste; I believe he was deterred by the opinion that he had of the spirit and good character of the inhabitants, who had dealings, and were intimate with numerous Roman citizens of high repute, resident at Agrigentum.

There is a temple of Hercules not far from the forum, held in high veneration by the Agrigentines.[53] In it, there is a bronze statue of the deity, than which it would not be easy for me to say I ever saw any thing more beautiful, (not that I profess to be a virtuoso, though

many of these things have fixed my attention:) it would have been perfect, my Lords, had not the chin and mouth been a little worn by the kisses of the numerous votaries, who there offered up their prayers. When Verres was at Agrigentum, an attack is suddenly made on the temple in the dead of the night, by armed servants headed by Timarchides. Alarm is given by the nightly watch; who in their attempt to defend the temple, are driven away, dreadfully mauled by sticks and cudgels. After breaking open the bolts and bars, they endeavour to knock away the statue with their clubs. The alarm spreads throughout the city, that the sanctuary of the gods is violated, not by a sudden incursion of enemies, or pirates, but by an armed band of vagabonds equipped for the purpose from the prætorial guard. There was no one at Agrigentum, ever so infirm by sickness or age, who did not leave his bed at the intelligence, and seize whatever weapon lay in his way; a great multitude in consequence flocked to the place; for a whole hour men were employed in endeavouring to effect the removal of the statue, either by making use of levers, or by attaching ropes to it, with which they pulled with all their might; notwithstanding which, it did not give way to their efforts. The Agrigentines crowd together, and pelt the

freebooters with stones. The picquet of our renowned prætor is put to rout; they succeeded however in making away with two small cameos, not to return with empty hands to that arch plunderer. No calamity ever befalls the Sicilians, but what they turn it off with good humour,[54] and a witty saying, as upon this occasion, when they remarked, that this horrible Verres had no less a claim to be classed among the labours of Hercules, than the Erymanthian boar himself.

The inhabitants of Assorus,[55] a spirited and honourable people, afterwards imitated the intrepidity of the Agrigentines, but not with as good success, though their city is opulent and considerable. The river Chrysas flows through their territory, which is deified, and held by them in the greatest respect. His temple stands near the road, which leads from Assorus to Enna: in it there was a marble statue of Chrysas beautifully carved.[56] He did not dare to demand this of the Assorians, on account of the sanctity in which it was held. He orders therefore Tlepolemus and Hiero to use their endeavours to procure it, who conduct an armed force by night, to break open the doors of the temple. The guards are presently aware of his intention, and blow a horn, which was the known signal of alarm to the neighbourhood.

The inhabitants fly to the spot; Tlepolemus is put to flight, and they are left to regret the loss of nothing from the temple of Chrysas, but a very small bronze figure. There is a temple consecrated to Cybele at Engyium.[57] I find myself not only necessitated to dwell lightly on each circumstance, but wholly to omit many, that I may come without delay to his more notorious burglaries. In this temple there were brazen habergeons, and helmets, worked at Corinth; also large flagons in bronze, of equally fine execution, which the same excellent Scipio had placed there, and on which his name was inscribed. But not to dwell or complain any longer on his outrages, these my Lords, he all removed. He left nothing in that sacred fane, but the indications of sacrilege, and the name of P. Scipio. In fine, the spoils of our enemies, the monuments of our generals, the decorations of our temples, must be enumerated hereafter among the effects of Verres, bereft of the names of the illustrious donors.

Are you then the only person to be pleased with Corinthian vases? Are you alone eminently skilled in judging of the temper of bronze, and correctness of outline? Could not the enlightened Scipio estimate the value of these things? Do you pretend to a knowledge of virtù without genius, literature, or education?

I would have you beware lest he should be found not only superior to you, but likewise to those who aim at being accounted elegant in matters of taste. For he thought those things which are esteemed beautiful, not designed for private luxury, but to be ornamental to towns and temples, that posterity might contemplate them as proofs of our respect for religion.

Listen, my Lords, now to another proof of his unbridled and unparalleled phrenzy, in the violation of sanctuaries, which it was not only illegal to touch, but even to attach disrespectful thoughts to. At Catiné, there is a sacristy of Ceres, held in as much veneration, as the other temples of that goddess at Rome, or nearly in every part of the world. In the adytum, there stood a most ancient statue of the goddess, of the shape of which men were not only ignorant, but even of its existence. For the sanctuary was not accessible to males; matrons and virgins there only officiated. His agents at night clandestinely remove this statue from its ancient and holy residence. The day after, the priestesses of Ceres, the wardens of the temple, together with respectable women of high birth, state the robbery to the magistrates. It appeared universally a subject of grief, and indignation. Verres, confounded at the magnitude of his offence, commissions one of his agents to

exert himself in removing all idea of guilt from him, and to pretend that it was the work of another, moreover that he should endeavour to convict him of the offence, and remove suspicion from himself. The mock impeachment is conducted without delay. At the prætor's departure from the city, the name of some slave is given in, he is accused; and suborned witnesses give evidence against him. All the Catanian senate take cognizance of it according to law. The priestesses are summoned, and interrogated in what manner they imagine the statue was made away with. They reply that the prætor's servants were seen about the temple. The circumstance which before was not doubted, was sufficiently cleared by their deposition. The senate holds a committee, when it is determined unanimously to acquit the slave; by this, you may with more ease condemn him also unanimously. What have you to say for yourself, Verres? What have you to hope for? What God or man do you think can favour you? Did you dare to make an irruption with your slaves into that sanctuary which freedmen were not allowed to enter for the sake of praying? To pollute with your hands those things, which by sacred laws you were not even allowed to behold? Notwithstanding that you have the use of your eyes,

you have fallen into the commission of this flagrant offence. You have coveted that, which you never beheld; you have been enamoured, I say, with what you had never before seen. You have imbibed such covetousness with your ears, that neither the opinion of mankind, nor the fear of offended heaven, has been able to restrain it. Forsooth, I give you credit for having heard of this statue from a good man. How could that be? For it was impossible for you to be apprized of it from any. Some woman then informed you of it, since no man could either see or know of the existence of the statue. What sort of woman then, my Lords, do you conceive this to have been? What modest female to hold conversation with Verres? What religious woman to indicate to him the method of robbing the sacristy? But there is no room for wondering that these sacred things, which are protected by the most rigid chastity, both of men and women, should have been violated through his lasciviousness.

But was this the only thing that he coveted through report? There are many others. Of these I will select the robbery of a most ancient and splendid fane, of which you heard the witnesses make their deposition, in a former pleading. I beg you, my Lords, to listen with the

same attention to this case, as you have to the preceding.

The island of Melitè[58] is separated from Sicily by a pretty broad and dangerous sea. In it, there is a town of the same name, which Verres never visited, where nevertheless he established a weaver's shop for the manufacture of lawns for three years. Not far from the city, there is a temple dedicated to Juno, of long standing; which was always so venerated, that it not only escaped inviolate, during the Punic wars, of which Melitè was often the scene of action, but also from the depredations of pirates. It is moreover related traditionally, that when Masinissa put in here with his fleet, the governor removed some ivory tusks, of incredible size, from the temple, and carried them to present to Masinissa in Africa; that that king was pleased with the present, but that when he heard whence they were taken, he sent confidential persons in a quinquireme to replace them. They therefore bore this inscription:

"*King Massanissa received these as presents, not knowing whence they came; as soon as he was informed, he took care to replace them here.*"

The temple contained besides, a great quantity of ivory, in which there were sculptured

two exquisite figures of Victory. All these things Verres seized at once, by means of slaves in the service of the temple of Venus Erycina,[39] whom he sent for that purpose. In the name of heaven, what sort of man is it that I am pleading against? who is it that I prosecute at a judiciary tribunal? what sort of being is it, my Lords, that you have to pronounce sentence against? The deputies from Melitè have deposed that the temple of Juno was robbed; that he has left nothing in that most sacred fane, to which the enemies of our country resorted with their fleets, and where pirates annually wintered; which no pirate, no enemy ever ventured to violate; that this same temple has been entirely despoiled by that one man. Can he now be looked upon as an accused person, I, as an accuser, this, as a tribunal? Is he convicted as a criminal, or brought only into court on suspicion? It is proved that the gods are forced away, the temples ransacked, the cities plundered. There is no possible way left for him to deny this, or to state any thing in his defence. Of all these crimes he is convicted by me, and by the witnesses; he is overwhelmed by his own confession; he is detected in manifest villanies; he stands nevertheless, but in silence acknowledges his guilt. I appear perhaps to expatiate too long on one description

of crimes; I am aware, my Lords, that you must be oppressed with satiety. I therefore will omit many. But, in the name of heaven, I beseech you, my Lords, to recruit your attention while I relate what follows; I conjure you, in the name of those very deities, of whose sanctity I have just spoken, while I relate and expound another outrage, by which all Sicily was thrown into commotion; and forgive me, if I dwell rather longer on religious topics, than may appear necessary. The magnitude of the offence will not allow me to descant lightly upon so atrocious a deed.

It has been believed, my Lords, from time immemorial, and proved from ancient Grecian literature and records, that the whole island of Sicily is under the especial patronage of Ceres and Proserpine. Foreign nations are also of the same opinion, and the Sicilians are so firmly persuaded of it, that it may be said to be engrafted in their minds at their birth. They believe that these goddesses were born in the island, that corn was there discovered, and that Libera, whom they call Proserpine, was ravished in the groves of Enna; which city being situated in the middle of the island, is termed the navel of Sicily. Ceres, when she travelled in pursuit of her daughter, is said to have lighted her torches with the flames that burst from the

crater of Ætna,[60] which she extended before her, as she wandered throughout the world.

Enna, where these transactions are fabled to have taken place, stands on a lofty and commanding situation; on the summit is an even plain, irrigated with living springs. The whole city is insulated, and difficult of access; in the neighbourhood, there is a lake and numerous groves, where flowers blow throughout the year. The place itself appears to declare that the rape of Proserpine there took place, which we have been accustomed to hear from our cradles. Contiguous, there is a cavern of amazing height, looking towards the north, from which they fable that Pluto suddenly emerged in his car, and having ravished Proserpine, penetrated the ground near Syracuse, where a lake was suddenly formed,[61] where even now the Syracusans celebrate annual festivals, numerously attended both by men and women.

On account of the ancient date of the opinion, that this place is ascertained to be the origin and cradle of these deities, devotion to the Ennæan Ceres is most religiously paid, both publicly and privately, throughout Sicily. Many miracles declare her authority and patronage; in times of trouble, she interposes with her assistance, and in so conspicuous a manner, that the island might seem, not only her delight, but

also her habitation and care. Nor is her worship confined to the Sicilians; for other nations adore the Ennæan Ceres. If her rites at Eleusis are the special object of attention among the Athenians, whom she is reported to have visited during her peregrination, and to have instructed in the use of corn, how great a veneration is due from those, among whom it is believed she was born, and to have discovered the utility of grain! At the death therefore of Tiberius Gracchus, when the republic was beset by difficulties and dangers, and when people were in great apprehension from the appearance of prodigies, the Sibylline oracles were consulted in the consulate of P. Mucius, and L. Calpurnius, in which it is said, these words were found: "*It is requisite that the most ancient Ceres be propitiated.*" It was then that the priests of the most noble decemviral college, notwithstanding that there was a beautiful and ancient temple at Rome, made a pilgrimage to Enna. For so sacred and ancient was the religion there held, that at their departure, they appeared to be about to visit Ceres herself, and not her shrine. I will not obtrude longer on your patience, I am already afraid that my speech has appeared to deviate from the established forensic usage. I will only say, that this most holy, most ancient Ceres, which held the highest rank among the religious

of all nations, was forced from her sacred receptacle by Caius Verres. If any of you have been at Enna, you have seen there a marble statue of Ceres, and in another temple, a figure of Proserpine. They are very large and beautiful, but not of great antiquity; there was a bronze one of moderate size and singular workmanship, bearing torches, [62] by far the most ancient statue in the temple. He was not content with merely pillaging this. In the front of the temple, there are two statues, one of Ceres, the other of Triptolemus, both of considerable size and fine execution, and placed in an open and conspicuous situation. Their beauty endangered them, their size saved them, for their demolition and transportation appeared exceedingly difficult; in the right hand of Ceres, there was a beautiful little figure of Victory; this he contrived to dislodge from the statue. What must be the state of his mind on the reflection of these crimes, when I in the mere relation of them am not only agitated, but absolutely thunder-struck? For now the circumstances of the temple, ground, and religion are so impressed on my mind, that every thing is transacted before my eyes. That day is before me, when I arrived at Enna, and the priestesses of Ceres were at hand with their mitres and sweet-scented herbs; when there was an assembly of

the citizens; which when I addressed, so great a lamentation took place, that the whole town appeared to be absorbed in grief. His extortion of tithes, his plunder of property, his iniquitous decrees, his barefaced lewdness, his power and reproaches under which they groaned, were no longer subjects of complaint. They sought to redress the violation of Ceres and her ancient temple, by the punishment of that abandoned and audacious villain. They affirmed that they passed over and dwelt not on his other deeds. So great was their consternation, that Verres, like another Pluto, might have appeared to have come to Enna, and not to have ravished Proserpine, but Ceres herself. For that city cannot be called a city, but rather a temple of Ceres. The Ennæans are of opinion that Ceres dwelled among them, and so strong is this persuasion, that all the inhabitants seemed to me to be rather her ministers than citizens of the town.

Did you, Verres, dare to remove the statue of Ceres from Enna? To pluck the Victory from her hand? to tear away a goddess from a goddess? Which those who were more inclined to sacrilege than religious observance, having it ever so much in their power, never dared to touch or violate. For vagabond slaves at war with the republic, occupied Enna, in the con-

sulship of Popilius and Rupilius. But they were not such slaves to their masters, as you to your concupiscence; nor were they such run-a-ways from their lords, as you from your country's laws; nor were they so barbarous in dialect or race, as you by nature and in manners; nor were they such enemies of the human kind, as you of the immortal gods. What excuse then can be left for him, who exceeds slaves in vileness, vagabonds in audacity, barbarians in impiety, and enemies in cruelty? You have heard, my Lords, Theodorus, Numinius, and Nicasio, the deputies from Enna, depose, that they were commissioned by their fellow-citizens, to require of Verres, the restoration of the statues of Ceres, and Victory; and that if they could have obtained them, they would not have delivered their testimonials against him, and this, for the sake of not deviating from an established custom of the Ennæans, which had been instituted by their ancestors, and which prevented them from deposing against any one, notwithstanding that he was the scourge of Sicily. But that if he refused to comply, that they would denounce him in court, to procure redress for their wrongs, and more especially for their injured religion. In the name of heaven, my Lords, do not turn a deaf ear to their complaints, do not despise, or neglect them. The power of our laws, the

wrongs of our allies are at stake. The opinion of the candour of our tribunals is at stake. They are all of high import, but more especially the last. The whole province is so wrought upon by religion, so great a superstition has laid hold of the minds of the Sicilians, that whatever public or private adversity has happened, it is looked upon as the consequence of his nefarious dealings.

You have heard the inhabitants of Centuripè, Agyrium, Catinè, Herbita,[63] and Enna, many others also, depose, what a solitude there is in the lands, how abandoned by the husbandmen, how uncultivated, and neglected they lie. Notwithstanding that these things have happened through his numerous unjust proceedings, the Sicilians unanimously attribute them to the violation of the sanctity of Ceres, and that on that account all the crops have failed. Heal, my Lords, the wounds which are inflicted on the religion of our allies; preserve your own. It is not foreign, and unknown to you. And if you are not inclined to favour it, and even if foreign to you, still you ought not to let him who has wronged it, pass unpunished. But how is it possible for us to be indifferent, or neglectful, even if we willed it, in a religion that is common to all nations, in those rites, which our ancestors have borrowed from foreign

tribes, and which are accounted Greek, as in fact they are?

I will now, my Lords, commemorate and expatiate upon the plunder of Syracuse, the most beautiful and splendid of cities; that I may close with it my oration, that exposes this species of depredations. There is no one of you, who has not often heard how Syracuse surrendered to Marcellus; you have sometimes read it in our annals. Compare this peace, with that war; this prætor's arrival, with that general's victory; this impure cohort, with that invincible army; the lust of Verres with the continence of Marcellus; and you will say that Syracuse was founded by him who captured it; by him who found it entire, destroyed. But I will now omit dwelling upon these points which have been and will be discussed on a future occasion: that the Syracusan forum, which was not stained with slaughter on the entry of Marcellus, at the arrival of Verres, overflowed with the blood of innocent Sicilians: that the port, which was not accessible either to our fleets, or those of the Carthaginians, was infested, during his proconsulate, with Cilician feluccas and pirates. I omit, for the present, the pressing of freemen, the violation of matrons, which never took place at the capture of the city, either through the hatred or licentiousness of the

military, nor by the laws of war, nor by the rights of conquerors. I omit, I repeat, all these things, which were perpetrated by him, during three whole years. Listen now to those crimes, which have an intimate connexion with what I have before touched upon.

You have often heard that the city of Syracuse is the largest and most beautiful of the Grecian colonies. It is, my Lords, as report makes it. It is fortified both by sea and land, and its situation is beautiful to behold. It possesses harbours inclosed as it were by the buildings and site of the city; they have different entrances, and communicate with each other behind. At their union, the part of the city which is called the island, separated by a narrow channel, is joined to the main land by a bridge. So vast is Syracuse, that it may be said to consist of four large cities.[64] One of these, as I before stated, is the island, which, surrounded by the two havens, is projected to the entrance of either. In it there is the palace which belonged to king Hiero, and which the prætors usually inhabit. Here there are many temples, but there are two superior to all the others; one is consecrated to Diana, the other, highly embellished before the arrival of Verres, to Minerva. At the end of this island, there is a fountain of sweet water called Arethusa, of in-

credible size, and well stocked with fish, which would be broken in upon by the sea, if it was not hindered by a projecting mole of stones. Another portion of Syracuse is called Acradina, in which there is an extensive forum, magnificent porticoes, a splendid prytanèum, and a spacious senate-house, also a fine temple of the Olympian Jupiter; the rest of this quarter is divided by one broad street throughout, [65] intersected by others transversely, and composed of private buildings. The third city is called Tycha, because there was an ancient temple dedicated to Fortune, in which there is a spacious gymnasium, and sacred edifices; this portion of the city is thickly inhabited. The fourth, because it was built the last, is termed Neapolis; where, in fine, there is a large theatre, [66] besides two splendid temples, one dedicated to Ceres, the other to Proserpine. Here also is a statue of Apollo, called Temenites, of large size, and fine workmanship, which if Verres could have made away with, no doubt he would. [67] But to return to Marcellus, for otherwise I may appear to have been too prolix in what I have here commemorated. When he took this celebrated city after a siege, he did not think that it belonged to the Roman people's honour to raze and demolish such beautiful monuments, especially as no danger

could be apprehended from their remaining; he therefore so spared all the edifices, whether public or private, whether sacred or profane, that it would appear he came rather to defend than capture them. With regard to the decorations of the city, he at once preserved the rights of conquest, and laws of humanity; the rights of conquest, in taking several things which would be ornamental to Rome; the laws of humanity, in not entirely despoiling that city, which he wished to spare. In this participation therefore, of the ornaments, he not only gratified the Roman people by his victory, but spared the Syracusans by his humanity. We see what were transported to Rome; they are deposited in the temples of Honour and Virtue, as well as in other places.

He placed nothing in his own house, nothing in his gardens, nothing in his villa; he thought that by not appropriating the ornaments to his own dwelling, that that dwelling would prove ornamental to the city. He left nevertheless many fine things in Syracuse; he neither touched, nor violated any deity. Compare with his, the conduct of Verres, (not to draw a comparison between him, and Marcellus, for by so doing you would do injury to so great a man deceased;) but compare his peace with the other's war; established laws, with military

force; his forum and judiciary sentences, with the other's sword and arms; the arrival and retinue of the one, with the armed force, and victory of the other. In the island, there is a temple sacred to Minerva, of which I have before spoken, which Marcellus left untouched, and decorated with its ornaments; which has been so despoiled by Verres, that it would appear not to have been ransacked by an incursion of enemies, (who, however, in war, preserve some respect for established customs and religious institutions,) but by barbarous pirates. Here was a battle-piece representing Agathocles charging at the head of his cavalry, finely painted; the inner walls were also hung with pictures. There was nothing finer than this painting, nothing at Syracuse esteemed better worth seeing. These paintings M. Marcellus, when every thing was looked upon as lawful prey in the hour of victory, bound as he was by a sense of religion, did not violate. Verres on the contrary, when he had received these things into his protection, as sacred, removed all the pictures, notwithstanding that the fidelity of the Syracusans demanded that he should be their guarantee. He stripped, in fine, those walls, which with their ornaments had escaped untouched during so many centuries, and so many wars. And notwithstanding that Marcellus had

made a vow to dedicate two temples at Rome in case of success against Syracuse, he abstained from decorating them with those things, which had fallen into his power. That Verres who never thought of dedicating a temple to Honour and Virtue as Marcellus, but rather to Cupid and Venus, attempted to despoil the temple of Minerva. The former would not adorn the deities with the spoils of others; the latter consigned the ornaments of the virginal Minerva to a harlot's house. He took besides from the same temple, twenty-seven paintings beautifully designed, which exhibited the portraits of the Sicilian sovereigns and tyrants, not only gratifying as works of art, but as memorials of the individuals. And mark how much more odious a tyrant he was to the Syracusans, than any former, for they took care, in spite of their tyranny, to embellish the temples, he, to rob them of their monuments and ornaments. But what am I to say concerning the temple-gates? I am apprehensive that those who have not witnessed these transactions, will accuse me of exaggeration. Let no one suspect that I am so rash as to wish to deceive so many respectable persons, especially those who preside in judgment, who have been at Syracuse, and know that these things there took place. I can affirm, my Lords, that there never were seen in any

temple more magnificent gates, or more elaborately wrought in gold and ivory. It is incredible how many Greeks have left written memorials of these doors. Perhaps they cried them up too much.—Granted. But it is more honourable to our republic, my Lords, for one of our generals to leave these things untouched, which were accounted beautiful, than for a prætor in time of peace to take them from their hinges. There were fine reliefs in ivory on these gates, all of which Verres took care to tear off. He forced away a fine Gorgon's head with snaky hair; and proved that he was not only induced to make away with it by the fineness of the work, but also for the value of the materials; for he wrenched out all the golden studs from these gates, which were numerous and heavy, not only for the sake of the art which they displayed, but the weight and value of the metal. He left then these doors in such a state, that what were before considered as highly ornamental to the temple, are now only looked upon as of use to close. The reeden[68] spears too? I perceived that when the witnesses deposed to the robbery of these, the court was surprised, because they were of such a nature, that one view of them would be sufficient to gratify any one's curiosity. In fact, they exhibited neither art nor beauty; but were

only of incredible size, so that their fame alone would have sufficed any body else; to see them more than once, would have been more than enough. Did you also covet these?[69]

But the Sappho, which you removed from the Prytanèum, speaks with so much effect in your defence, that that violence is surely to be overlooked and forgiven.[70] Is it possible for any private person, or even nation, to possess so elegant, so highly a finished work of Silanion,[71] with so much propriety, as that refined and consummate Dilettante, Caius Verres? Nothing surely can be started against this. For any one of us, though as rich as he, cannot by any means be blessed with so delicate a taste. If, at any future time, he wishes to see any thing of that sort, let him go to the temple of Happiness, to the monument of Catulus, to the portico of Metellus; let him contrive to procure admission into any of their Tusculana, let him examine the ornaments of the forum, to see if any suit the taste of his ediles. Shall Verres retain these things in his mansion? Shall Verres have his dwelling stocked with the ornaments of temples and whole towns? Will you still, my Lords, endure to hear of the pursuits and elegance of this mechanic, who is so born and bred, so organized in body and mind, as to appear much more suited, to have statues laid at

his feet, than to have them taken from him? It can hardly be described how much regret the removal of this Sappho occasioned. For since it was beautifully carved, it had a Greek epigram inscribed on the pedestal, of considerable merit, which that accomplished Greek scholar, who is alone intelligent in works of art, who judges of these things with such discernment, would certainly not have removed, had he known how to read one Greek letter. For now the inscription on the pedestal, bereft of its statue, declares what was there, and what has been taken away. [72]

What! Did you not force away from the fane of Æsculapius, the venerable and beautiful statue of Apollo, which every one was wont to go to see for its beauty, to adore for its sanctity? Was not the image of Aristæus removed from the temple of Bacchus, by your positive orders? The holy statue of Jupiter, finely carved, which the Greeks call Urius, from the temple of that god? Did you hesitate to take that beautiful bust from the temple of Proserpine which we all went to see? That Apollo, together with the Æsculapius, was worshipped by the Syracusans on annual festivals. Aristæus, as the Greeks believe, was the son of Bacchus and the reputed inventor of oil; his statue therefore was consecrated at Syracuse

in the same temple, as his progenitor. But I leave you to judge of the veneration in which the Jupiter was held, by calling to your memories the respect that was shewn to a figure of the same form, brought from Macedonia, and deposited in the capitol by Flaminius. It was believed that there were only three statues of Jupiter Imperator in the world, carved on the same model. One was in Macedonia, which we now see in the capitol; another in the straits of the Thracian Bosphorus, at the mouth of the Euxine, and a third at Syracuse, before the proconsulate of Verres. Flaminius therefore removed it from his house, to place it in the capitol, the earthly habitation of Jupiter. But that which is stationed at the entrance of the Euxine, notwithstanding the numerous wars, which have been waged in, and proceeded from that quarter, has remained to this day inviolate. The third at Syracuse, and which our general Marcellus saw, which he conceded to religion, which the Syracusans and strangers go expressly to see and adore, that Verres removed from the sanctuary. Hear this, my Lords, of Marcellus, (to dwell on that general, rather longer than I ought:) that the Syracusans lost more gods by the arrival of Verres, than they did men, by the victory of the other. Marcellus is said to have inquired for Archimedes, [73]

renowned for his genius and science, and when he was apprized of his murder, to have regretted it deeply. Verres on the contrary put all things in requisition, not for security's sake, but to bear them off. I will pass over those things of lesser moment, such as the Delphic tables of marble, the bronze goblets, and the profusion of Corinthian vases, which he pillaged from all the Syracusan temples. In consequence, my Lords, the showers of these sights, and sacred curiosities, have now their duty reversed; for as they before conducted strangers to what was to be seen, so they now explain what has been removed. Do you think then, that the loss of these articles is but slightly felt? It is not so, my Lords. In the first place, people are universally attached to that religion, which they have received from their ancestors, and which they think it their duty to protect. Grecians besides, enthusiastically admire statues, paintings, and all works of art. You may therefore conclude from their murmurs, that these losses, which to us may appear trifling and of no moment, are severely felt by them. Believe me, my Lords, (I am sure you are aware of it, since our allies and foreign nations have experienced these outrages of late,) that the Greeks could, least of all calamities, endure the pillages of their temples and cities. Let him hold forth,

as usual, that he bought these things. I declare, my Lords, that no city, either in Asia or Greece, sold voluntarily to him, any statue, painting, or ornament. Unless you are of opinion that after the laws ceased strictly to be enforced at Rome, natives of Greece began to part with these things, which they were so far from selling when our laws were properly administered, that they bought them up wherever they could. Or unless you think that L. Crassus, Q. Scævola, and C. Claudius, men of high authority, and whose edileships were splendid, did not carry on that traffic with Greeks; and that those did purchase works of art who were made ediles, after the slack administration of the laws. But I would have you to know, that these pretended and simultaneous purchases are more galling to cities, than if any one should clandestinely steal, or openly rob. For they think it a mark of dishonour to have it registered in the public accounts, that a city was induced to sell and alienate at a small rate, those monuments of art, which it had inherited from its ancestors. The Greeks moreover are passionately fond of those things, which we think contemptible. Our ancestors, therefore, permitted willingly the enjoyment of them, that our allies might possess them in as great number as possible, and that their cities might prove

ornamental to our empire; they also allowed them, to those, who were tributary to the republic, that what they esteemed, however depreciated by us, might be left as the solace of their dependent condition.

What remuneration, do you imagine, could compensate the Rhegians,[74] now Roman citizens, for the loss of their marble Venus?[75] What the Tarentines, if they were to lose their Europa on a bull, their Satyr, and other works deposited in their temple of Vesta? What the Thespians, for their statue of Cupid, for which alone strangers crowd to Thespiæ? What the Cnidians, for their marble Venus? What the Coans, for the picture of that goddess? What the Ephesians, for the loss of their Alexander? What the inhabitants of Cyzicus, for their Ajax or Medea? What the Rhodians, for their Ialysus? What the Athenians, for their marble Bacchus, their picture of Paralus, or their bronze heifer, by Myron? It would be tedious and superfluous to dwell upon all the rarities, which attract strangers throughout Asia and Greece; this nevertheless I will dwell upon, and what I wish you to believe, that the loss of these things is very acutely felt by the inhabitants of those cities from whom they are taken.

But to omit the others, be acquainted with what befell the Syracusans. When I arrived

among the inhabitants, I was at first of opinion, that that city, on account of the hereditament of Heraclius, was not less friendly to Verres than Messana, the receptacle of all his booty and frauds; and this I had heard at Rome, from his partizans. I was also apprehensive lest I should be opposed in my inquiries, through the influence of beautiful women of high rank, as well as their husbands who were at his nod, during his prætorship of three years, and who through deference and generosity, might be unwilling to depose what they knew against him, and prevent my examining the registers of the Syracusans. I therefore resided with Romans at Syracuse, examined into their papers, and made myself acquainted with their wrongs. Having been much embarrassed by care and business, for the sake of recreation and rest, I looked over the fine pictures of Carpinatius, and developed at the same time, the affair of Verrutius,[76] to which I have before alluded, to some distinguished Roman knights. I expected no assistance from the Syracusans, nor indeed did I seek it, in my public or private inquiries. At this time, Heraclius, a magistrate of Syracuse, a nobleman, and who had been high priest to Jupiter, a post of high honour among the Syracusans, proposes to me and my brother, if we thought proper, to attend at the senate,

where there was a full meeting, and which they had been ordered to leave for the sake of asking us to come. We at first were undecided what to do; we presently agreed, that it would be better to go. As soon as we arrived in the senate, they stood up and received us honourably. We took our seats at the request of the magistrates. Diodorus Timarchides, who took the lead both in rank, authority, and the knowledge of business, began to speak; and the whole tenour of his discourse was this: that the Syracusan senate and people took it ill, that I, in the other Sicilian towns, should suggest to the senate and people what would be of utility and benefit to them, and that having procured testimonies, deputies, and commissions from others, I did not take the same measures at Syracuse. To which I replied, that in an assembly of Sicilians at Rome, when my assistance was sought by the common advice of the deputies, and the cause of all Sicily had devolved upon me, no deputies from Syracuse were present, or demanded of me, that any thing should be decreed against Caius Verres by that senate, wherein I beheld a golden statue of Caius Verres.

As soon as I had spoken, such a groaning took place at the sight and recollection of the statue, that it appeared to have been erected in

the senate-house, as the monument of his crimes, not of his benefits. Then every one, according as he was able, began to inform me of these things, which I have just stated, how the city had been plundered, and the temples robbed, that he had appropriated to himself by far the greatest part of the hereditament of Heraclius, which he had promised to the wrestlers;[77] that it was not a subject of inquiry whether he had any consideration for them, when he had plundered the statue of that deity who was the inventor of oil; and as for the golden statue, it was neither granted nor erected from the public purse; but that those who shared with him the division of the hereditament, had taken care to erect it; that those same persons who had arrived as deputies at Rome, were the assistants of his wickedness, and participators of his thefts; that I ought to cease to wonder, if they had not joined the other deputies, in procuring the salvation of Sicily. As soon as I was informed, that they were equally as much stung by their wrongs, or even more so, than the rest of the Sicilians, I then declared openly my good disposition to serve them, and revealed the plan of my undertaking. I then encouraged them not to be backward in the common cause, and to obliterate that praise, which they said they had de-

creed, overawed by the fear of his power. The Syracusans, then, my Lords, act thus, though they are his dependants and friends. They produce their testimonials to me, which they preserved in the archives of their treasury; in which all that I have related, and even more than it were possible for me to relate of his thefts, were registered thus:

"*The things from the temple of Minerva, those from the temple of Jupiter; those from the temple of Bacchus;*" meaning what was wanting in each; as each was nominated to have the charge of these things, so was it ordained, that he should give an account of them, and implore forgiveness if any were wanting; and therefore that all the overseers were set at liberty, and that it was unknown to each, what had become of them. These registers I took care to have publicly sealed, and brought away.

They thus state the reason of their conferring a mark of approbation on Verres. At first, a little before my arrival, no notice had been taken of the letters of Verres, concerning a proof of the approbation of his conduct; some of his friends suggested that it ought to be decreed; they were opposed with the greatest vehemence and abuse; but as soon as Verres heard of my approach, he ordered it to be done

without delay; it was then so enacted as to have been more prejudicial than of service to him. This circumstance therefore, my Lords, as it was proved to me by them, so understand it now from me. It is a custom at Syracuse, that if any topic is before the senate, any one who chooses, may deliver his opinion. No one is asked for it by name. Every one speaks in his turn, nevertheless, according to his rank and age, and others make way for him. If all are silent, they draw lots, and he on whom it falls, is compelled to deliver his opinion. With this established usage, the senate consults upon a mark of approbation for Verres. As some delay at first took place, many stepped forward. When they heard that that task was to devolve on Sextus Peducæus, who had deserved well of Syracuse, and of all the province, when many wished to praise that senator for his great and numerous deserts, they were prohibited by Verres; notwithstanding that Peducæus would not court their applause, it was unfair that they did not of their own accord decree that to him before, which they were now obliged to bestow on another. All concur in deciding that it ought to be done. And a debate takes place concerning Peducæus. According to his rank, and age, each gives his opinion. Be informed

of this from the decree itself. For the speeches of the principal senators are usually taken down. Read--

(Here the speeches of some of the members of the Syracusan senate concerning Peducæus are read in court.)

It says who were the first movers of the debate. A decree is passed. They then debate concerning Verres. Tell me, I beg, how?

(Here the speeches of the Syracusan senate concerning Verres are read in court.)

What is registered afterwards?

(Here the words "No one rose to deliver his opinion," are read in court.)

How is this?

(The words, "They draw lots to speak," are read in court.)

What! Will no one rise to speak voluntarily in praise of your prætorship, to be your defender in a period of danger, especially as he was then able to court favour from the prætor? No one. Those guests of your's, those counsellors, those companions of your guilt dared not pronounce one word. In that senate, where your statue was erected, as well as a naked one of your son, could no one be found, whom your naked son in a naked province might instigate to speak?

The senate also informed me, that a decree

passed concerning his praise; couched in such a manner, that all would think it rather a mockery than a compliment; all, rather a register of the iniquities of his calamitous proconsulate, than any thing else. It is thus written; "*That he had flogged no one to death.*" From which you may infer, that noble and innocent men were decapitated. It is written also: "*That he had administered the affairs of the province with diligence.*" All his vigils were passed in obscenity and adultery. This also is registered, which the criminal would not dare to assert, nor the accuser to cease from repeating: "*That Verres had kept Sicily clear from pirates.*" These actually penetrated into Ortygia. As soon as I was informed of these transactions, my brother and myself left the senate, to decree if they pleased, any thing in our absence. They then first passed a resolution, "*That my brother Lucius should be publicly entertained,*" because he had shewn the same zeal in the Syracusan cause as I had uniformly. They not only registered that decree, but delivered it to us inscribed in brass. Forsooth, your Syracusans, whom you are so often mentioning, love you much, since they think there exists a sufficient reason for forming a strict friendship with your accuser, who came to procure materials for your impeachment. It was

afterwards decreed, but not quite unanimously, "*that the praise which had been decreed to "Caius Verres, should be rescinded.*" When they had adjourned and registered their decrees, the prætor is summoned. But who summons him? Some magistrates? Not one. Some senator? No. Some Syracusan then? Least of all. Who then summons the prætor? Cæcilius, who had been his quæstor. Too absurd! O the wretch utterly abandoned by the Sicilian magistracy! No friend, no guest, no Sicilian summons the prætor, but a quæstor to prevent the senate from passing a decree, according to their own laws, and established usages. Who ever witnessed, or heard of such a proceeding? The equitable and sagacious prætor orders the assembly to be broken up. A great crowd flocks round me. The senators immediately began to exclaim that they had lost their liberties and laws; the people, to thank the senators, and praise them. The Roman citizens never left my side. Nothing was more difficult on that day to prevent the populace from offering violence to the quæstor, which however I effected at considerable risk. When we entered the court, where the prætor was presiding, he was meditating deeply what he should decree. And before I could speak, he rose from his seat, and departed. We therefore, as even-

ing approached, left the forum. The next morning, I requested of him to let me have the decree, which the Syracusans passed the preceding day. He refuses to grant it, and says it is an unpardonable breach of established custom, that I should speak my sentiments in a Grecian senate, that it was absolutely intolerable that I should address Greeks in their own dialect. I answered the man, as I could, as I wished, as I ought. Among other things, I remember to have said, that it was obvious how great a difference there was between him and Numidicus,[78] a true and staunch Metellus, who would not flatter L. Lucullus his brother-in-law, though he was on excellent terms with him; but that he on the contrary, sought to extort praise for himself who was an object of supreme hatred to the city.

As soon as I understood that he had received many messengers of late, and that his tributary, but not commendatory letters, had been of essential service to him, at the instigation of the Syracusans, I used all my endeavours to get at the registered decrees. Here another contest with the rabble took place. I would not have you imagine that he is absolutely destitute of friends at Syracuse. There was one Theomnastus who retained the decrees, a ridiculous madman, whom the Syracusans call

Theoractus, and whom from his behaviour the children follow in the streets. If ever he attempts to speak, a universal laughter ensues. This folly, ridiculous to others, proved then a source of real trouble to me. For with foaming mouth, and flashing eyes, he cried as loud as he could, that I had assaulted him; we went into court together. Here I began to demand that I might publicly seal, and bear away the decrees. He, on the other hand, refused to deliver them up, stating that it was a decree of the senate at which the prætor had been summoned. I quoted the law, which authorized the surrender to me of all the letters and decrees. He furiously retorted, that our laws were nothing to them. The clever prætor insisted that it was his pleasure to retain them, that the decree ought not to have been passed in the senate, by which I was allowed to carry them to Rome. What need have I of stating more? Unless I had threatened the man with vehemence, unless I had quoted the sanction and punishment of the laws, I should not have been able to procure them.

But that maniac, who had declaimed with such fury against me, finding that he could not obtain what he wished, probably with the hopes of reconciliation with me, presented me after-

wards a little scroll, in which all the depredations of Verres were registered, and of which I had before been informed.

Let now your Messanians praise you with all their hearts, the only people in the province who hope for your acquittal; but let them so praise you that Heius, the chief of their embassy to you, be also present; let them so praise you, that they may be ready to reply to what I shall question them. And lest they should be confounded all at once by me, I will ask these things: "Was a ship due from them to the Roman people?" They will confess, there was. "Did they furnish it, in the prætorship of Verres?" They will deny they did. "Did they build at the public expense, an immense speronara, which they presented to Verres?" They will not be able to deny they did. "Did Verres require corn of them, to send to the Roman people, like his predecessors?" They will deny he did. "What soldiers or sailors did they furnish during his prætorship?" They will say they furnished none. They cannot deny that Messana was the receptacle of all his thefts and depredations; that much merchandize was exported by numerous ships from thence; that in fine, the large speronara presented to him by the Messa-

nians, left the harbour deeply laden, with the prætor himself on board. Glut yourself then with the praises of the Messanians.

We now perceive that the city of Syracuse, which was never disposed to favour you, is become your irreconcilable enemy. For even there those flagitious acts of Verres are abrogated. Little did it become one to have divine honours paid him, who forced away the statues of the gods. And in troth, I think the Syracusans are reprehensible for having cancelled from their anniversaries a festival which commemorated the capture of Syracuse by Marcellus, and for naming another to celebrate games in compliment to Verres; since the latter plundered them of those things, which the day of the capture of the city had left inviolated. But mark the unprecedented insolence of the man, my Lords, who was not content with instituting those vile and ridiculous Verrine games, out of the hereditament of Heraclius, but also ordered the abolition of the Marcellean; that annual sacrifices might be offered to him, through whom, the Syracusans had lost all their deities and sacred rites; while the holidays should be abolished in compliment to that family, which had restored to them their other festivals.

NOTES.

NOTES.

[1] [2] Buonfiglio, in his Messina Illustrata, calls the temple of Hercules Manticlus, now the church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, the sacristy of Heius; the ruins of whose house, it is pretended, are still to be seen in the Strada d'Austria. All the antiquities which the translator saw at Messina, were the church Delle Anime in Purgatorio, which was a Roman basilica, probably built about the age of Constantine; and the massive granite columns now in the cathedral, which were taken from the temple of Neptune, near Pelorus. There is a statue on the Dromo, which, though neither ancient nor well executed, is interesting to the classic traveller. It represents Neptune chaining Scylla and Charybdis. Underneath are these lines:

Impia nodosis cohibetur Scylla catenis;
Pergite securæ per freta nostra rates.
Capta est prædatrix, Siculique infamia ponti,
Nec fremit in mediis sæva Charybdis aquis.

Ride now secure, ye ships, our seas frequent;
In knotty chains outrageous Scylla's pent.
Seiz'd is Charybdis, scourge of Zanclè's shores;
No more the harpy from her vortex roars.

There is an interesting inscription in Greek found at Messina recording the fate of some inhabitants of Cyzicus. It probably commemorates those thirty-seven youths, who perished in the straits of Messina, and in whose memory as many statues were erected in that city; according to Pausanias, they were the works of Callon of Elis. Pausan. lib. v. 446.

ΚΥΖΙΚΟΣ ΗΝ ΜΙΑ ΠΑΣΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΚΑΙ
ΜΟΙΡΑ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΩΛ
ΛΥΣΕΝ ΗΙΘΕΟΥΣ Ω ΠΑ
ΡΟΔΕΙΤΑ ΜΙΑ .....
.....
ΟΥ ΤΟ ΚΑΛΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΕΙ
ΠΕΡΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΟΥΝΟ
ΜΑ ΤΥΜΒΟΥΣ ΟΥ ΚΛΥΚΥΣ
ΕΣΘ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΚΑΝ ΦΘΙ
ΜΕΝΟΙΣΙΝ ΕΡΩΣ

The youths to whom proud Cyzicus gave birth,
A common fate restor'd to kindred earth;
Their name adorns not the sepulchral bust,
Within our hearts it lives, though they 're consign'd to dust.

Another at Messina, commemorating an actor, with the playfulness of Adrian.

ΠΑΦΙΑΝΟΣΠΑΦΙ
ΟΣΤΗΑΥΠΟΓΗ
ΛΕΛΙΜΕΚΩΜΩ
ΔΟΣΛΙΦΘΕΙΣ
ΤΟΝ ΒΙΟΤΟΥΣΤΕ
ΦΑΝΟΝ

[3] Pliny fixes the period when Praxiteles flourished, in the hundred and fourth Olympiad. He worked in bronze, as well as marble; but excelled particularly in the latter material.

Praxitelem propriâ vindicat arte lapis. Propert.

We have a fine copy of his Apollo Sauroctonos in marble. His Niobè is the finest union of grace and sublimity ever perhaps exhibited. The Thespian Cupid alluded to by Cicero, was

transported to Rome by order of Caligula, according to Suetonius. Claudius sent it back to Thespiæ; and it was removed a second time to Rome, in the reign of Nero, where it was destroyed by fire. His Venus of Cos vied with that of Cnidos. Pliny says that the former was clothed, the latter naked. According to Winckelmann, there is a copy of the latter somewhere in England. Some idea may be formed of the value set on this monument by the Cnidians, whose debts a king of Bithynia promised to remit if they would consign it to him; but the offer was refused. Winckelmann, speaking of his style, says that he was to Phidias, what Guido was to Raphael. Lucian thus conceives his idea of a perfect model of female beauty: the face should resemble that of the Venus of Lemnos by Phidias; the hair, eye-brows, and forehead as the Cnidian of Praxiteles; with the attractive grace and softness displayed in that statue; and the hands should be as those of the Venus of Alcamenes. What a sepulchre of art is Constantinople! In the eleventh century, the Pallas of Lindus, the Olympian Jupiter of Phidias, the Venus of Cnidos, the Opportunity of Lysippus, the Juno of Polycletus, were, it is confidently believed, there to be seen.

Winckelmann mentions Myron as one of those artists, who knew how to unite grace with greatness. He flourished in the eighty-seventh Olympiad, and excelled particularly in bronze. His animals were highly esteemed. According to Propertius, there were four oxen by him ranged round the altar of the Palatine Apollo at Rome. His famous heifer has been commemorated in no less than thirty-six epigrams; two of which are by Anacreon. According to Pliny, he did not execute hair more happily than his predecessors; but he was the first to exhibit variety of manner. His three colossal statues of Minerva, Hercules, and Jupiter, Mark Antony transported from Samos to Rome; but Augustus restored the two first. One of his most celebrated works was the Discobolus, of which an indisputable copy was found some years since on the Esquiline hill.

Quintilian praises it, as one of those works, which proved the transcendant merit of the Grecian artists. Notwithstanding his superior talents, Myron lived and died poor.

Of Polycletus, we know from Pliny that he lived in the ninety-fifth Olympiad. He was a greater master of grace than Phidias, but probably not equal to him, in the expression of the sublime. The Juno of Argos was his reputed masterpiece; but as that statue, like the Minerva of Phidias, was composed of gold and ivory, the το σεμνον and το μεγαλοτεχνον was most probably more conspicuous in his Doryphorus, a statue of a young warrior, which served as a model to the first artists of Greece. In the schools of art at Athens, the pupils studied the heads of Myron, the arms of Praxiteles, and the breasts of Polycletus.

There is an ancient bas-relief in terra cotta given by Winckelmann, supposed to represent the Canephoræ alluded to by Cicero. Monum. ined. Num. 182.

[4] Now Neocorio, a town of Bæotia, near Mount Helicon.

[5] Here probably some one reminded Cicero of the name of the sculptor.

[6] The Claudii were numerous at Rome. The individual here alluded to was most probably the Claudius, who was prætor in Sicily. Appius Claudius, the consul, has been commemorated in an inscription preserved in brass at Messina, which however has been thought spurious by Castelli.

S. P. Q. R.

APPIO CLAVDIO QVINTOQ, FABIO CONSVLIB, ALTERO MESSANAM SICILIE CIVITATEM CLASSE PROFECTO RESERANTE PERCEPIT, HYERONEM SIRACVSANORVM REGEM PENOR. Q. COPIAS HYERONI CONIVNCTAS TAM CELERITER SVPERATAS VT APPIVM CLAVDIVM CONSVLEM AD HANC REM GERENDAM POTI' CIVITAS SVE VIRTVTIS ADMIRATOREM, QVAM BELLI SVSIPERET ADIVTOREM, NAM HYERO REX PENIQ. VRBIS NON TAM MULTITVDINE QVAM ANIMOSA NOBILITATE PROPVLSI, VICTOS

QVAM SE DIDICERE CONGRESSOS, QVI ANTE CONSVLIS ADVENTVM VLTRA LEONTINVM PROFVGI, PACEM EXPOSCENTES, ROMANOR. GLORIA, MESSANENSIVM NOBILITATE, PROPRIAQ MVLTA, DVCENTA TALENTA HERARIO SOLVENDO SVPPLICES INPETRARVNT, OB QVOD STATVIT VRBEM IPSAM TITVLO NOBILITATIS EXTOLLI, ALIISQ. PROVINCIE CIVITATIB, SACERDOTES EIVSQ. CIVES ROMANOR. HONORE SICILIE, CAPVT ILLIC FVNGI POTESTATE ROMANA, LAPIDES EIVS ALEONTINIO VSQ PATHAS EXTENDI, NAM ID SPACIVM CETERIS DEFICIENTIB. ROMANE DICIONI SERVAVIT, CIROGRAFVM HOC FASTIS ROMANIS ADIVNCTVM LAVDEM CIVITATIS OSTENTANS, ASCRIBI, ROMANAMQ GRATITVDINEM MERITO RESPONDERE. APPROBATVM EST PRESENS DECRETVM PATRVM A GN. CALATHINO PLEBI TRIBVNO POST VRBEM CONDITAM ANNO QVATRINGENTESIMO OCTVAGESIMO TERCIO, REMPVBLICAM PRIMO BELLO PVNICO CONTVRBANTE.

[7] Fifty-two pounds nine shillings and four-pence three farthings. The translator has endeavoured to restore the statues in the frontispiece.

[8] Cicero must surely here mean sestertii nummi? Fine works of art fetched however immoderate prices in antiquity. Pliny says, that the wealth of a whole town was scarcely sufficient to buy a fine picture. The same author mentions that M. Agrippa paid for a Venus and an Ajax 12,000 sesterces. Augustus gave 100 talents, or about 19,000*l.* English, for the Venus of Apelles. Lucullus promised 60,000 sesterces for a statue of Happiness. The statue of a boy by Polycletus was sold for the same sum as the Venus of Apelles. And a painting of Parrhasius cost Tiberius 60,000 sesterces. Winckel. passim.

[9] In the original, "ne forté dum publicis mandatis serviat, de privatis injuriis reticeat." The translator proposes *ut*, instead of *ne* with Ernestus.

[10] Alæsa stood very near the fortress of Tusa, on the northern coast. It was founded by a citizen of Herbita, and submitted

successively to the Messanians, Syracusans, Carthaginians, and Romans; from the latter it enjoyed several immunities, and the privilege of having a senate of its own. Many Roman families settled in Alæsa, and during the civil wars, when the citizens shewed symptoms of disaffection, tranquillity was restored through the exertions of Claudius Pulcher. There is a statue yet preserved at Tusa, with the insignia of a Roman consul, and it has been supposed to represent this benefactor of Alæsa. According to Torremuzza, the city extended three miles in circumference, in which there were temples dedicated to Apollo, Bacchus, Jupiter Milichius, and the Sicilian deity, Adranus. The same author discovered in its ruins three statues, one of Saturn, the others of Triptolemus. We may conclude, that it was a distinguished city, from a passage in a former pleading. "Siciliæ civitates multæ sunt et honestæ, in quibus imprimis enumeranda est civitas Alesina."

The governor of the fortress told the translator, with an air of pride in his countenance, that Cicero had been at Alæsa, and had admired the situation. The luxuriant growth of the oleander and myrtle is very remarkable along this shore; the former delights in the beds of the mountain torrents, and even flourishes within a few yards of the sea-beach; the latter also thrives best near the sea, and often attains such a height as to form a protecting shade, completely verifying the assertion of Virgil:

Littora myrtetis lætissima.

Inscriptions found in the ruins of Alæsa.

ΘΕΟΙΣ ΠΑΣΙ
ϘΔΑΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΑΙΣΙΝΩΝ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΝ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΟΣ
ΛΑΠΙΡΩΝΑ
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΣ . ΕΝΕΚΕΝ

Dijs omnibus
populus Halæsinorum

Diogenem Diogenis F.
Lapironem
beneuolentiæ causa

IMP Δ CAESAREI Δ
DIVI Δ F Δ
AVGVSTO Δ PO . .
MVNICIPIVM Δ

The last confirms what Cicero states, that Alæsa was governed by its own laws.

[11] City of Lycia in Asia Minor. P. Servilius, who took it, was named Isauricus, in reward of the conquest of Isauria.

[12] The Caius Cato, whose baggage was detained by the citizens of Messana, was condemned subsequently for bribery in Macedonia, and lived in exile at Tarraco, now Tarragona, in Spain. This explains the words "condemnatus est." The note of Ernestus to the sentence below, "huic irati non fuerunt," is unhappy. The word "huic" must surely refer to Cato, and not to Verres. The passage otherwise is unintelligible.

[13] Agent of Verres.

[14] There are some inscriptions preserved in Sicily, commemorating different individuals of the family of the Pompeii.

At Messina.

ΣΕΞΤΟΣ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΣ
ΦΟΙΒΟΣ
ΑΠΟ ΡΩΜΗΣ
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙ
ΤΑΙ

D . M .
M . VIRGINIO
POMPEIO . FIL
BENEMERENTI

VIXIT . ANNIS . XxV
POMPEIA
AT TIlici A . MATER

At Palermo.

ARAM . VICTORIAE .
SEX . POMPEIVS . MER
CATOR . VI . VIR . AVG .
PRAETER . SVMMVM .
PRO . HONORE .
D. D.
P . S . P .

[15] This probably is irony, in allusion to the sum given for the statues belonging to Heius.

[16] A city of Caria, now called Buraz, famous for its breed of dogs. Hence Cicero calls Tlepolemus and Hiero, Cibyratic blood-hounds.

[17] Boëthus was a Carthaginian; according to Pausanias, he made a statue for the temple of Juno at Elis. Many of his works were deposited in the temple of Minerva at Lindus. Plin. lib. xxxiii. M. de Choiseul Gouffier found a valuable intaglio in the ruins, I think, of the city of Assos, with the inscription BOHΘOY. See his Voyage de la Gréce, where it is engraved.

[18] A Roman of high birth, who composed the history of his country, and which Cicero praises.

[19] Lilybæum is now Marsala, and of repute as furnishing a wine little inferior in quality to Madeira. Lilybæum was supposed, in antiquity, to have been the residence of one of the Sibyls; for an account of these priestesses consult Vossius. Near the town, the translator was shewn a cave, called the Sibyl's; where he found some traces of fresco paintings, but indifferently executed. Lilybæum was the seat of government

for the western division of Sicily, as was Syracuse for the eastern. It is of note as having been the retreat of Porphyry, during his illness, and here he vented his spleen against that religion which breathes peace and good will to mankind.

A fragment of an interesting inscription was found some years since near Marsala. May we not suppose that it was a pedestal, which supported a statue either of Scipio, or Cicero?

RESTITVTORI . ROMANI .
IMPERII . LIBERTATISQUE .
.....

Another found at Marsala, by which we discover the name of a proconsul of Sicily.

C . BVLTIO . GEMINIO
TITIANO . PRO COS .
PROV . SICIL . COC . C
OB INSIGNEM EIVS
BENIVOLENTIAM
ERGA . ORDINEM ET
PATRIAM . XII . TRIB
PATRONO . MERENTI.

[20] Now Trapani. The modern Trapanese display a greater spirit of industry than the rest of the Sicilians. Here are considerable salt-works, which to a person approaching the town, have the appearance of an immense camp. Cotton is much cultivated in the vicinity. It blew a dreadful sirocco, when the translator was there, which brought with it myriads of musquitoes from the African shore, and made it "Drepanum illætabile." His chief resource was the fifth Æneid, and some boatmen on the beach, who were engaged in pitching their vessels with fire, added some illusion to the lines:

..... furit immissis Vulcanus habenis,
Transtra per et remos et pictas abiete puppes.

Four miles from Trapani, stands the celebrated mount Eryx, now called Monte San Giuliano. Of the temple of Venus Erycina, "vicina astris, Erycino in vertice," there remain the foundations, built of large stones, and immediately overhanging a precipice. They are of great antiquity; in all probability, having been the work of Dædalus, and consequently one of the oldest specimens of masonry existing. These are the words of Diodorus speaking of the works of Dædalus in Sicily:

Καλα δε τον ερυκα πετρας ουσης αποτομαδος εις υψος εξαισιον, και της κατα το ιερον της Αφροδιτης γενοχωριας αναγκαζουσης επι το της πετρας αποκρημνον ποιησαι την οικοδομιαν, κατεσκευασεν επ' αυτου του κρημνου τοιχον, προβιβασας παραδοξως το υπερκειμενον του κρημνου. Diodor. lib. iv. p. 278.

There are also six columns of Egyptian granite, and some fragments. Quite overgrown with brambles is the celebrated well, which was probably in the temple, and still goes by the name of "Il pozzo di Venere."

[21] For an interesting dissertation on the Thericlean cups, see Bentley on Phalaris. Mentor is an artist commemorated by Pliny as excellent in works of relief. He is also mentioned in two or three epigrams by Martial. In one of them, there is a line highly applicable to the Sicilian prætor:

Solus Mentoreos habes labores.

[22] To Polynices she revealed where Amphiaraus was.

[23] Sthenius was an inhabitant of Thermæ Himerenses, now called Termini. In the pleading concerning the Sicilian jurisdiction, very honourable mention is made of Sthenius. He opposed the rapacity of Verres with becoming spirit, and in the town-hall of Termini, the translator saw some fresco-paintings, very ill executed, representing the honourable conduct of Sthenius.

Termini is still celebrated for its warm baths, which have been noticed in an ode of Pindar. It was founded by the refugees from Himera, after the destruction of that city by Hannibal. Himerâ deletâ, quos cives belli calamitas reliquos

fecerat, ii sese Thermis collocârunt in ejusdem agri finibus, nec longè ab oppido antiquo. De jurisdictione Sicil. The baths, which are very hot, are much frequented for their medicinal virtues, and the translator found them in the same condition that the Romans left them. They were fabled to have sprung forth at the command of the nymphs to refresh Hercules fatigued with travel. In the environs, there are the ruins of a Roman aqueduct, and near the town fragments of various members of architecture. In the town-hall they have erected a mutilated statue, purposing to put it off for the statue of Stesichorus, mentioned in the de jurisdictione Siciliensi, and which Verres attempted to get. In the interior, there are bad fresco-paintings representing the acts of Stesichorus for his country, as related in the spurious letters of Phalaris, and the spirited conduct of Sthenius, as before mentioned. They are indeed unworthy of the place, which gave birth to Demophilus, the master of Zeuxis.

Two of the most interesting inscriptions found in the ruins of Thermæ Himerenses.

NICARIN . MVNATIAE . L . L . ZOZI
MAE . FILIA . HYMNETRIA . A . S
TERRA . PRECOR . QVAECVNQVE
IACES . NICARIO . SVPER . OSSA
SIS . LEVIS . IN . TENERO . CORPORE . DEPOSITA
VIXIT . ANNOS . XVIII.

C. MAESIO . AQVILLIO
FABIO TITIANO CVCOS
OPTIMO CIVI AC PATRONO BENEME
RENTI ORDO ET POPVLVS SPLEN
DIDISSIMAE COL AVG HIMEREORVM
theRMIT PECVNIA SVA POSVIT

There are also other hot baths of great celebrity near Sciacca, the ancient Thermæ Selinuntiæ. They are, in the opinion of the translator, to be enumerated among the most

valuable relics of antiquity in the world; they being one of the monuments of the ingenuity of Dædalus. They are thus described by Diodorus, lib. iv. p. 278.—σπηλαιον καΐα την Σελινουντιων χωραν καΐεσκευασεν· εν ω την ατμιδα του καΐ' αυΐου πυρος ουΐως ευστοχως εξελαβεν, ωστε δια την μαλακοΐηΐα της θερμασιας εξιδρουν λεληθοτως, και καΐα μικρον τους ενδιατριβονΐας. μεΐα τερψεως θεραπευειν τα σωμαΐα, μηδεν παρενοχλουμενους υπο της θερμοΐηΐος. The translator explored this fine vapour-bath in September, 1808, still affording relief to numerous invalids, which was excavated previous to the argonautic expedition, and after a lapse of three thousand two hundred years, attesting the dexterity of the architect of Crete.

[24] This the translator can bear witness to. Signor Landolina shewed him at Syracuse, a marble Venus, scarcely inferior to the Medicean in execution; in the museum of the prince of Biscari, exclusive of numerous cameos and intaglios, there is a torso of Jupiter of very fine execution. Many of the Sicilian medals are finely wrought, especially the Syracusan. But it is probable that art was no where carried to greater perfection in Sicily, than at Centuripe, the modern Centorbi, of which city a fine medal of Hercules is in the possession of the translator.

[25] Tyndaris still exhibits some interesting ruins; it stood on the projecting point of a steep promontory, and according to tradition, derived its origin from Castor and Pollux:

> ..... geminoque Lacone
> Tyndaris attollens sese adfuit. Sil. Ital.

Some vestiges of a Greek theatre, and a portal supposed of the temple of Venus, are all the translator could find of the ancient Tyndaris; but the waves have undermined a considerable part of the ground, on which the city stood; and when the sea is tranquil, many of the ruins are discernible at bottom. He can never forget the heavenly view he enjoyed from the balcony of S. Maria di Tindaro. The fragrance of the morning air, the

Lipari isles covered with a light grey tint, as is often seen in Vernet's best mornings, the summits of Stromboli and Ætna tinted with the first blush of Aurora, and the remembrance of being among the ruins of a city, which laid claim to the invention of bucolic poetry, conspired to dazzle his imagination, and chain him to the spot; while the Italian shores gradually declining towards Cape Palinurus, brought these lines to his recollection, so inimitable for their pathos:

O nimium cœlo et pelago confise sereno
Nudus in ignotâ Palinure jacebis arenâ!

Some fine statues have been discovered among the ruins by Mr. Fagan, British Consul at Palermo. In the refectory of the monastery, there are some architectural fragments and the statue of a consul.

[26] Calacte was a town on the northern coast of Sicily. It is now called Caronia. This range of Sicilian coast was termed with reason, the beautiful shore. The little river Furiano rolling its noisy stream among luxuriant plants of oleander; the myrtles of the largest growth, and overspread with blossoms; the mountains of a bright verdure, the deep azure of the sky unsullied with a cloud, and the yet deeper of the Tuscan sea unruffled with a breeze; all proclaimed to the translator the propriety of the title, "beautiful shore."

[27] Quis Catinam sileat, quis quadruplices Syracusas?
Hanc ambustorum fratrum pietate celebrem,
Illam complexam miracula fontis, et amnis,
Quam maris Ionii subter vada salsa meantes
Consociant dulces placitâ sibi sede liquores,
Incorruptarum miscentes oscula aquarum? AUSON.

Who proud Catania's praises can refuse
To name, or thine, majestic Syracuse?

This, which the brothers' exploit owns with pride,
That, to which Alpheus' streams in secret glide;
Alpheus, that speeds to blend his wave with thine,
O Arethuse! untainted with the brine.

Catania is now the most beautiful of the Sicilian cities. It contains several interesting antiquities; of which, its amphitheatre is the most striking, but it is nearly obliterated by the united power of time, earthquakes, and streams of lava. There are however considerable remains of the exterior wall to be traced, which is constructed of square pieces of lava, cut with incredible toil. The dens are still shewn, where it is presumed the lions were kept. Of the theatre, one of the entrances to the corridor is yet entire, and a spot is seen where a curule chair was placed for a magistrate. Adjoining is an odeùm, to which there was a communication from the theatre. A circular church, called Santa Maria della Rotonda, is supposed to have formed a part of the immense baths, which are now covered by the lava, in front of the Benedictine monastery. Near the convent of the Carmelites, there is an octagon chamber, not unlike the temple of the winds at Athens, which was an ancient bath. Under the cathedral, buried by a stratum of lava, are very considerable ruins of the Thermæ, or public baths, in which there are vestiges of fresco-paintings. Plans of the antiquities of Catania have been raised by Ittar, a Maltese architect, and do great credit to the talents of that artist. To the westward of the town, there are still to be seen three or four arches of an ancient aqueduct, which braved the force of the dreadful current of lava, A. D. 1669. When perfect it must have been a striking proof of the opulence of the ancient Catanians, for it brought water from a spring eighteen miles distant; so that this work yielded but little to the aqueducts of ancient Rome. The modern city contains many objects worthy the attention of the stranger, but from the vicinity of so terrible a neighbour as Ætna, must be always liable to share the fate of the anti-

quities. A torrent of lava flowed to within a league of the city walls in January, 1812. So that the inhabitants are always sensible of the force of the line in Silius Italicus:

Catine, nimiùm ardenti vicina Typhæo.

Of the inscriptions preserved in Catania, the two following are the most interesting.

P. ANCITIO . P. F.
QVI VIXIT ANNIS
VII. ET . DIEBVS VII.
CVIVS . FVRIBVNDÆ RV
PERVNT . FILA . SORORES .
CVIVS FVNVS . MISERI . V
IDERE . PARENTES . ANCITIA
FORTVNATA . ET . CORNE
LIVS . NEPTVNALIS . FILIO .
DVLCISSIMO . FECERVNT.

The other is in Greek verse:

ΤΥΜΒΟΝΟΡΑΣΠΑΡΟΔΕΙΤΑΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΙΤΗΣ
ΡΟΔΟΓΟΥΝΗΣΗΝΚΤΑΝΕΝΟΥΚΟΣΙΩΣ
ΛΑΕΣΙΔΕΙΝΟΣΑΝΗΡΚΛΑΥΣΕΔΕΚΑΙΤΑ
ΡΟΥΣΑΒΙΑΝΙΟΣΗΝΠΑΡΑΚΟΙΤΙΝΚΑΙ
ΒΑΙΗΝΣΤΗΛΗΤΗΝΔΑΠΕΔΩΚΕΧΑΡΙΝ

Pause, trav'ller, pause, by this sepulchral urn,
With tears th' illustrious Rhodoguna mourn;
A harden'd wretch, who no compassion knew,
With pelted stones th' unhappy matron slew.
Avienius drops the tributary tear
For his lost spouse, and consecrates this bier;
Small token of his love, and grief sincere.

Here the classic traveller will venerate the memory of Charondas, that legislator of Catania, the excellence of whose in-

stitutions has been praised by Plato, and whose laws were preferred by Cicero, to those of Rome; he will call to mind the fame of the pious brothers, Amphinomus and Anapius, who, as is seen in the following inscription, gave their name to the city:

ΕΥCΕΒΕΩΝΚΑΥΤΟΝ
ΑCΤΥ ΠΑΝΟΛΒΙΟΝ
ΑΝΔΡΑ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
ΖΩCΥΜΙ . ΑΝΕΔΗΝ
ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΘΗΡΑ
CΕΒΗΡΟΝ
ΟΦΡΑΚΑΙΕCΟΜΕΝΟΙCΙ
ΙΡΟΠΟCΑΙΖΕΒΡΟ

He will also remember that the poet Stesichorus was here buried; as is shewn in some verses preserved in the Anthologia.

Στησιχορου ζαπληθες αμετρητον στομα Μουσης
Εκλεριζεν Καλανης αιθαλοεν δαπεδον.
Ο'υ καλα Πυθαγορεω φυσικαν φαλιν, α πριν Ο'μηρου
Ψυχα ενι σλερνοις δευλερον ωκιζαλο.

With boundless genius fir'd, in lore profound,
Stesichorus, whom th' Aonian sisters crown'd
Lies dead beneath Catania's fi'ry ground.
If Nature's laws Pythagoras defin'd,
The fire of Homer glow'd within his mind.

[28] Now called Centorbi, and of note as being the birthplace of Apuleius. The Athenians were quartered in Centuripe, and Nicias enrolled the inhabitants among their allies. Centuripe was besieged by the Romans, and resisted their efforts for a considerable time. They derived considerable immunities from Augustus, in whose favour they declared, during the civil

war between him and Pompey. The ruins of an ancient stable and some fragments of a bath inlaid with mosaic, representing fish in different coloured marbles, are all the remains of the ancient town. The statues, vases, and coins found in the ruins, attest the former splendour of the city. The translator, as he pursued his journey over the territory of Centorbi, could not help regretting that the inhabitants should leave it a barren waste, unlike their ancestors, who according to Cicero, were renowned for their energy in speeding the plough.

Homines Centuripini summi aratores.
Centuripini ferè totam Siciliam arant. } de re frument.

There are still to be seen the ruins of an ancient bridge over the Symæthus (hod. Giarretta) which probably led to Centuripe.

Only inscription of the ancient Centuripe.

QVINTA.....
VIXIT . ANNOS...
COPIA MATER..
FECIT

[19] Now called San Felipe d'Argiro, and of note, as being the birth-place of Diodorus. Henry Stephen asserts with considerable confidence, that the works of that valuable historian are entire in some corner of Sicily; if there be any foundation for this surmise, perhaps the monasteries of San Felipe would offer the greatest chance of discovery. The only monument of the ancient Agyrium is preserved in the museum of the Prince of Biscari at Catania; it is a pedestal, which probably supported a statue of Diodorus, the son of Apollonius, as the inscription proves, and from this perhaps we may infer the name of the historian's father. Diodorus commemorates a magnificent theatre of the ancient Agyrium, but no traces of it are now visible.

[30] The original is a sort of pun upon the word Verres *everriculum*: a *sweeper* general of the province.

[31] Aluntium, where this occurrence took place, is probably the same as the modern monastery of San Fratello, situated between Caronia, and Cape Orlando. Its origin is thus related by Dionysius, of Halicarnassus. Speaking of the navigation of Æneas, that historian says, "He passed over the Ionian sea, from Buthrotum, having procured some pilots, who volunteered in his service. He took also one Patron, of Thurium. Many of these returned to their homes, after his army had landed in Italy. But Patron was persuaded by Æneas to found a colony; some of his associates remained in the fleet; others they say, joined him, and established themselves in Aluntium a Sicilian town." Hist. lib i.

Three inscriptions found in the ruins of Aluntium, from two of which we may conclude, that it derived the privileges of a Roman borough from Augustus.

AVGVSTO . DIVI . F
PONTIF . MAX
MVNICIPIVM

ΤΟ ΜΟΥΝΙΚΙΠΙΟν ΤΩν
ΛΛΟΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΠΙΝΑΙΟΝ..
ΠΟΛΛΕΙΝΟ ΙΠΥ..Ε...ΑΕΩΧΟΕ
ΝΟΜΟΥ ΕΡΙΠΑ...Τ..ΤΑΛΟ...
ΟΝΟΝΕΥΝΟΙ$\alpha\varsigma$ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ

LIVIAE Δ AVGVSTI
DEAE
MVNICIPIVM

[32] Probably the Macedonian Piso, and nearly as bad as Verres, whom Cicero also thundered at in a most severe philippic. Very different from his father here alluded to, and surnamed Frugi, from his abstinence.

[33] In allusion to Verres, which signifies *wild boar*. It may also obliquely refer to verrere, i. e. to sweep the province *clean*.

[34] Now i pileri di Barbara. For the detail of its fine temple, and other antiquities, consult Wilkins's Græcia Magna.

[35] Now called Noto: it is a town beautifully situated, laid out in spacious streets, and has been rebuilt since 1693, when it was destroyed by an earthquake. It commands a delightful view of the vale, through which the Falconara flows. The translator could not but admire the beauty of the walnuts, which grow on its banks; doubtless the descendants of those, to which Plutarch alludes, when he mentions that Gylippus, the Lacedæmonian general, hung his trophies on the καλλιστα και μεγιστα δενδρα, which grew on the borders of the Asinarus. Near the mouth of this river, there is a tower in ruins, which the Syracusans built to commemorate the defeat of Nicias.

The Syracusans anciently established an annual festival to commemorate the defeat of Nicias, in which it was customary to cut some boughs on the banks of the Asinarus, and bear them in triumph to Syracuse. It is remarkable, that the same ceremony is to this day continued, with this difference, that the boughs, instead of being borne in honour of Nicias, serve to adorn the shrine of a saint.

Ancient inscription preserved at Noto.

ΕΠΙΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΩ.....
ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ-ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΘ...
ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ-ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤ.
ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΙ-ΙΕΡΩΝΕΙΟ

Sub Gymnasiarcha
Aristione Agathini F.
Philistionis N. Epicratis pron.
iuniores Hieronei

[36] For an account of the antiquities of Enna, now Castro-Giovanni, with a critique on the De Raptu Proserpinæ of Clau-

dium, see a Memoir in the Classical Journal, No. IX. by the translator.

[37] Elorus still exhibits some interesting antiquities. There are the ruins of a columbarium, with two Doric Antæ well executed. These ruins are to be seen near the mouth of the river Abisso. It is not easy to imagine a more beautiful tract of country, than in the environs of Elorus. Ovid calls it "Eloria tempe;" the aptness of which title the translator can bear witness to; for the whole territority is variegated with the fig, aloe, opuntia, olive, mulberry, walnut, cypress, and vine. The pomegranate too displayed its refulgent blossoms. It was the month of May when the translator

"passed the quiet sounds
Of still Elorus, and his fruitful bounds." Dryd. Virgil.

The deep azure of the Mediterranean was only broken by the white sail of a speronara sailing to Malta; and the uniformity of the sky, by clouds of the lightest fleece. "The landscape laughed around."

[38] Cutting irony, which Cicero managed so dexterously, and in this respect makes him superior to his rival Demosthenes. Indeed the perceptions of Tully were so fine, that no translator can hope always to be able to render exactly what he meaned. Frequently, (in the Verrine orations especially, to say nothing of the Pro Q. Ligario), an occult vein of subtle irony pervades a sentence, the force of which we may presume, depended much on the gesture, the look, the smile of the orator.

[39] The young prince here referred to was son of Antiochus X. surnamed Pius. He is the same whom Pompey deprived of the kingdom of Syria, leaving him only in possession of Commagene, and a small portion of Mesopotamia.

[40] The prætors were allowed a certain deduction of corn, from the annual tribute to Rome, and in the collection of this, Verres behaved scandalously. See De re frument passim.

[41] This was the Catulus, who repressed the civil war,

kindled by Lepidus after the death of Sylla. He superintended the rebuilding of the capitol destroyed by fire. Cicero therefore invokes him He was one of the most respectable cotemporaries of Cicero.

[42] The capitol was more than once struck by lightning—"tactum fulmine Capitolium," says Tacitus in more than one place.

[43] The orator still addresses Catulus.

[44] Courtezan of Verres.

[45] Verres must have been an anomaly in the human race; his depredations were not confined to Sicily, but extended to the remotest provinces. How highly does Cicero stand, when we consider his efforts, in this, and many others of his pleadings, to brave almost alone the torrent of corruption! For the ruins of the temples of Minerva, Apollo, and Juno, here alluded to, consult Stuart's Athens, and Ionian Antiquities.

[46] This city was situated near Mount Ecnomus, now Monte San Calogero, and was built by a colony of the Messanians, who inhabited Mylæ, now Melazzo. It was burnt and razed to the ground by Hannibal, in the fourth year of the ninety-second Olympiad. The translator witnessed the effectual execution of the Carthaginian chief, for nothing now remains but a few shapeless stones to attest the existence of what Pindar calls the potent Himera. The translator has here to notice an error of D'Anville, who has placed Thermæ, where Himera stood, and Himera on the site of Thermæ. This error is rectified in the translator's chart of the island, illustrative of the Grecian, Carthaginian, and Sicilian names. Faden, 1812.

The spot where Himera stood, is one of the most picturesque imaginable. The full moon had just risen in all its splendour, as the translator crossed the Fiume Grande, the ancient Himera still winding among oaken woods, and diffused a charm over the landscape, already embellished by the muse of Theocritus, which represents Daphnis pining for his absent mistress on the

banks of the river, and the oaks which grew on its margin, lamenting his disappointed love.

Ως ποκα τας Ξενεας ηραssαῖο Δαφνις ὁ βωτας,
Χως ὀρος αμφιπολειτο, και ως δρυες αυλον εθρηνευν,
Ἰμερᾳ ἀιτε φυονῖι παρ' οχθαισιν ποταμοιο.

For his lov'd Xenea, so would Daphnis mourn,
Daphnis who tended kine, so seek forlorn,
The mountain's verdant haunts, or silent grove;
Ye oaks, by Him'ra's stream, you mourned his hopeless love!

[47] Terranova is now built on the ruins of Gela; which was a colony from Lindus in Rhodes. After going through a great variety of fortunes, it was razed to the ground by Phintias, tyrant of Agrigentum. The real situation of this city has given rise to some literary dispute. Some maintain that Alicata stands on its ruins, while others affirm, as does the translator, that it is the same as Terranova.

Some years since, an inscription was found in Alicata, which has been recorded by Peter Burmann. It registers a decree of the republic of Gela to remunerate the good conduct of Heraclides the gymnasiarch, with a crown of olive. From this it seems plausible at first to infer that Alicata was founded on Gela. But it must be remembered, that Phintias, of Agrigentum, razed Gela, built a new city which was called after his name, and peopled it with the captive Gelensians. Might not this tablet be transported by the inhabitants to their new city Phintias, which Kluver is of opinion to be the same as Alicata? Virgil makes Æneas descry the vast Gela, so termed from its river. But Alicata is situated on the Fiume Salso, the ancient Himera; and where is the authority to shew that that river was ever named Gela? Let us then agree with Kluver, who calls the Fiume di Terranova, Gela; Terranova, the city Gela, and Alicata, Phintias.

Of the ancient Gela, there is nothing that remains but a Doric column half buried in the sand, and so worn by time, as scarcely to shew any traces of its flutings. Kluver calls it erroneously a Corinthian column. The translator as he crossed the river of the same name, on a mule, without so much as wetting the soles of his feet, was sensible how much allowance must be made to poets when they treat of topography:

Te vorticibus *non* adeunde Gela: says Ovid.

The modern city is the very residence of filth and wretchedness; the more to be wondered at, as it carries on a considerable trade in grain with Malta. The Geloan fields, commemorated by Virgil, are still famed for their fine crops of wheat. Where is the tract celebrated by his muse that cannot inspire delight and interest?

.....et fatis nunquam concessa moveri
Apparet Camarina procul, campique Geloi,
Immanisque Gela, fluvii cognomine dicta.

Of the ancient Camarina nothing exists; but a triangular tower, probably built by the Saracens, is seen on its site. The fine vases discovered in its ruins attest its ancient splendour.

[48] The translator has endeavoured to restore it in the frontispiece.

[49] The Scipio whom Cicero here addresses in court, was descendant of the celebrated Æmilianus; he was father-in-law of Pompey, and appointed commander in Macedonia; he was in the battle of Pharsalia, and afterwards retired with Cato to Africa. We may conclude from this part of the oration, that he was inclined to favour Verres. This apostrophe to Scipio is one of the finest efforts of eloquence in the whole pleading.

[50] The Publius Servilius, whom Cicero here alludes to, was probably the son of P. Servilius Isauricus; he was colleague with Cicero when augur; and an admirer and imitator of Cato.

[51] Vein of corroding irony, which so often is the characteristic of the Verrine orations.

[52] For a detail of the ruins of this temple, consult Wilkins' Antiquities of Grecia Magna. Two columns only remain, and those immured, and mutilated.

[53] The remains of this temple are still to be seen; in the opinion of the translator, they are the most picturesque of any, except those of Juno Lucina. Frusta of columns and fragments of entablatures lie about in the greatest confusion. The temple is of the Doric order. There are few spots in the Sicilian landscape so striking to the stranger as the site of ancient Agrigentum. The magnificent ruins are agreeably blended with every description of fruit trees, while the river Acragas (il fiume Drago) winds its course among cultivated fields. The Acragas was deified in antiquity, as well as the Chrysas, the Anapus, Cyane, Crinisus, and Hypsas, and has been commemorated in the following beautiful lines by Preti, a modern poet of Gingenti:

Mentre non giâ de le palustri fronde
Come altri fiume, ma di spighe aurate
Cinge Acragante le sue chiome bionde.

While other rivers roll a troubled course,
And crowns of sedge, and marshy mallows wear;
Blithe Acragas a crystal current pours,
And braids with golden sheaves his auburn hair.

[54] The same quality is inherent in their descendants. The translator had often occasion to remark this, during his tour round the island. Was the heat intense, or a mule more than ordinarily restive? thè campieri were generally jocose upon the occasion, which the translator could not always join in, as he traversed in a lettiga the dangerous passes in the road from Melazzo to Cefalu. The Sicilians are naturally a fine people, if they did but possess a better government. Here is another

proof of Sicilian waggery. When the translator was at Marsala, he was informed by the Cicerone, that he could shew the house where Tullius lodged when at Lilybæum. This the translator was preparing to approach with nearly as much veneration, as if he was going to tread the site of the Cuman, or Tusculan villas. On his arrival at the house, which was sprucely white-washed, and could not date earlier than the sixteenth century; "Questa, Signor, fu la casa dove dimorava il *Signor Cicerone*, quando fu in Marsala," observed the guide, without carrying much conviction with the words. He persisted that it was. It presently appeared, that this was the house where the guide's father had lived, who like his hopeful son, was *Cicerone* of Marsala.

The witticism recorded by Cicero is excellent, when it is remembered that Verres is Latin for *boar*. Horace has a line, highly applicable to the Sicilian prætor—

Verris obliquum meditantis ictum Sanguine donem.

[55] Now Assaro, situated near the source of the Chrysas, the modern Dittaino. It is built on one of the eminences of the Junonian mountains, which are described by Diodorus, as being remarkable for their fertility, and as affording a delightful shade during the summer months; he says also that they are watered by the purest fountains, and that oaks of a large size and wild vines grew on them. The translator found them now so different, that a *Verres* would with difficulty find sufficient covert to hide from his pursuers. He took up his abode for the night in a miserable hovel on the Dittaino, the exhalations of which are so noxious, that the peasants are obliged to burn heaps of straw to prevent infection from the marsh miasma. The water of the Chrysas is very bad; it brought to his recollection what is told of the waters of the Missisippi, that if a glass be filled with them, one half becomes a sediment of thick slime. There are some remains of the temple supposed of Chrysas; for a view of them, consult Hoüel voyage pittoresque des deux Siciles.

Picture of the Sicilian landscape from the banks of the Dittaino, on the evening of the 24th June, 1808.

Slow rolls the smoke down Ætna's snowy sides,
And the grey mist the purple vineyards hides.
Lo! on Symæthus' wave the moon-beams play,
Athwart yon cloud Sol shoots a crimson ray.
Fatigu'd the brawny reaper binds his sheaves,
While gentle airs just stir the locust's leaves;
Beneath yon hanging precipice's shade,
The wanton kids beside their dams are laid;
And half conceal'd by undulating reeds,
Spent with meridian heat, the heifer feeds.
While from the shoots, which th' arm'd Opuntia spreads,
The freckled lizards raise their little heads;
The red pomegranate blooms, and aloe grows,
Where the fat altars of Palicus rose.

[56] The translator has endeavoured to exhibit it, as he found it represented in an ancient Sicilian coin given by Gronovius. See the frontispiece.

[57] Now Gangi, or very nearly. The modern town is celebrated as having given birth to the second Sicilian painter, Lo Zoppo di Gargi, who very much resembles Il Calabrese in his manner; four of whose best pictures adorn the cathedral of Castro-Giovanni.

[58] Malta, too celebrated to have its antiquities treated in a note. When the translator was at La Valetta, he was informed that a learned Maltese was engaged in a work of the antiquities, in which, no doubt, he will treat of the temple of Juno here alluded to.

There is an interesting inscription recorded by Abela in his Malta Illustrata, which proves that the memory of Cicero was held dear by the ancient Maltese;

TVLLIOLA . M . TVLLII F .

When the translator was at Malta, he found in a field near Città Vecchia, an Ionic capital, of the temple of Juno, or Proserpine.

[59] In the original "servos Venerios." The translator has adopted the interpretation of Ernestus. These slaves may however have been procured by Verres from Veneria, a city of Hispania Bætica, known also under the name of Lebrissa, and now called Lebrixa.

[60] Now called Il Mongibello. The translator enjoyed that view, so unrivalled for its sublimity, at sun-rise on the 29th June, 1808.

"Cosa stupenda signor," exclaimed the guide, while the dense and rapid volumes of smoke at one moment concealed, at another rolled off, to discover the immeasurable prospect.

Ætna is divided into three regions: the regione pedemontese, or cultivated region; the regione nemorosa, or woody; and the regione scoperta, or desert. The distance from Catania to the crater by Nicolosi, is twenty-nine miles. In the desert region, about half a mile from the crater, stand the ruins of an ancient building, called La torre del filosofo. Some have imagined it was an observatory, others, that it was built for the accommodation of the Emperor Adrian when he ascended Ætna, and some have believed it to be the ruins of a temple of Vulcan; that there was a temple to that deity on Ætna, we know from Ælian, lib. xi. cap. 3. The following inscription was found in the ruins, according to Gualtier, but it bears strong marks of being spurious.

AETNA THALIA
COELI ET TERRAE FILIA
IOVI DEORVM DEO PALICOS ET NECEM MIHI
PEPERI DIOS AC AETERNVM
IGNIFLVO MONTI ET VRBI IN LICTORE NOMEN
DEDI
NON PERITVRA HIS MOLIBVS. C

The translator has to claim indulgence for introducing here particulars of the eruption of Mongibello, which took place in March, 1809.

Since the year 1793, the discharges from Ætna were unattended by important consequences, till the month of March 1809, when an eruption took place unparalleled for the devastation it caused, since the memorable year of 1693. The ocular testimony of many English resident in Messina, and more especially of the Messinese Chiavetta, will afford an additional interest to a circumstantial account, which will be acceptable to those who are inclined to suspect Borelli and Carrera of exaggeration in the descriptions of the phænomena, they each witnessed.

During the month of February, 1809, scarcely any smoke was perceptible on Ætna; at intervals, it ceased entirely. The Catanians, Messinese, and circumjacent villagers, were kept in cruel suspense, and momentarily expected that this unusual calm was a prelude to some ravaging eruption or earthquake.

> ..... they trembled lest the force
> Of subterraneous wind transport a hill
> Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter'd side
> Of thund'ring Ætna, whose combustible
> And fuell'd entrails thence conceiving fire,
> Sublim'd with min'ral fury aid the winds,
> And leave a singed bottom all involv'd
> In stench and smoke ..... Milton.

Nor were their fears ill-grounded. For at four A. M. on the morning of the 27th of March, the inhabitants of the little village of Lingua-grossa were awakened by smart shocks of earthquake, and having fled from their dwellings, beheld the atmosphere obscured by dense volumes of smoke, which issued from the crater; at half past five, a more terrible shock succeeded, which was felt in all the villages from Le Giarre to Randazzo. At seventeen minutes past six, a perpendicular

column of the blackest smoke was sent forth, which spread for the distance of seventy miles, a shower of scoriæ of various dimensions. At seven A. M. the ashes began to fall in Messina, distant from Ætna in a right line about forty miles, and in one hour the streets and adjacent country were covered with them. The roofs of the houses in the villages to the north-east of the mountain, were overspread to the depth of four inches, which obliged the peasants to drive the cattle to the plains, or they would have perished for hunger. The eruption lasted six hours. The atmosphere was cloudy, and the wind blew strongly from the south. For the remainder of the day, nothing was discharged but a great profusion of smoke, and the mountain appeared gradually to resume its tranquillity. At mid-day however on the 28th, the convulsions increased, accompanied by loud hissings and explosions. Finally, the burning matter having surmounted all obstacles, opened for itself a passage in a spot called, Il piano dell' Etna, and almost at the same moment, two others were opened at the distance of ten miles from the first, at a place called La Tacca di Coriazzo: both of these spots are situated in the desert region. At this time the sky was serene. Drops of water were then observed to fall on the cinders, which revived, in the opinion of many, the old idea of a communication of the Ætnæan fire with the sea. But the philosopher will trace the origin of the water to another source. He will look upon Ætna as a grand chemical laboratory, and the drops of water as a necessary result of the union of the oxygen and hydrogen gasses. At half past twelve A. M. flames were shot forth to a great elevation from these apertures; and the burning scoriæ formed a rain of fire similar to what is seen in the finest fire-works. On the following day the first eruption seemed extinguished, and nothing issued but a whitish smoke, having, to use the phrase of Ferrara, *la morbidezza di cotone.* Nevertheless, flames and lava were still emitted from the two apertures in La Tacca di Coriazzo. The fiery torrent pursued a north-east direction, and having passed the plain, descended

with great rapidity that part of the mountain, overhanging Randazzo.

It is five hundred paces in breadth, and having destroyed lofty pines and beeches in its course, stopped at the mountain of S. Maria, having performed a journey of six miles. Five ravins from which the fire issued, are to be seen in this plain, in a right line one above another, of such a depth, as to make the spectator tremble. In the mean time the ashes continued falling in abundance. On the 29th the shocks were more frequent, the hissings and intonations louder, and the villagers on Ætna apprehended a dismal catastrophe. Their fears were realized; for at fifteen minutes after seven, the earth opened in many points in the woody region to form new craters, and desolate with fire the surrounding country. At the distance of nine Italian miles from La Tacca di Coriazzo, stands one of the component mountains of Ætna, called Il Monte Rosso. It is chiefly covered with majestic pines, which never experienced the stroke of the hatchet. At the root of this mountain, towards Castiglione and Lingua-grossa, lies an inclined plain covered with pines above, and aged oakes below, in extent about seven miles. A little below, in a right line with Castiglione, and in a spot called La Dagla di Banditi, a few days preceding, some labourers had remarked a number of small rents, from which a light sulphureous smoke was emitted. On the evening of the 29th, during a smart earthquake, twenty apertures were formed at one instant, from which burning matter was forced to a prodigious height, which presently reduced to ashes a grove of pine trees contiguous. The lava flowed with surprising rapidity in various directions, and speedily filled up the adjacent valley. Two of these fissures were more remarkable than the others, but their diameter could not be estimated; for the excessive heat and volleys of stones that were discharged, hindered the most enterprizing spectator from approaching sufficiently near. The first day the lava covered a tract two thousand paces in length, and fifteen hundred in

breadth. The first layer flowed with less velocity than the second, that with less than the third; at last it proceeded with great violence, no sooner tearing up than annihilating the trees that lay in its way, and exhibiting on its surface large masses, which, red hot beneath, but black above, appeared so many substances floating in a lake of fire. In process of time, the first lava became condensed, and the above mentioned masses formed a dike to the successive eruptions, and turned their course. By reason also of these mounds, the stream was repelled, and heaped to a considerable height upon the first lava. On its egress, an ebullition was observed, similar to what is seen in the ore of iron founderies. The torrent advanced with increased violence on the thirtieth, and thirty-first of March, and threatened the cultivated lands with ruin. On the thirty-first it spread devastation over the plain of Galiazzi, which bounded the delicious grove of Castiglione. On the first of April, the eruption presented a phænomenon, which adds weight to the theory of the immortal Lavoisier, relative to the composition and decomposition of water through fire. At fifteen minutes past nine, A. M. a quantity of dense smoke proceeded from the two rents specified above, which raised to a considerable height in the atmosphere, before serene, was dilated, and formed a black cloud about two thousand paces in diameter, which presently discharged a copious shower of large hailstones upon the red-hot lava. The instantaneous decomposition of the elements of the hail, and sudden inflammation of the hydrogen, caused so loud an explosion, that from the contact of each hailstone with the lava, noise was occasioned as violent as from the discharge of cannon of large calibre. To use the words of Borelli descriptive of a former eruption: *

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* That of 1693, indisputably the most violent of the eruptions of Ætna, which destroyed sixty towns, and killed seventy thousand people; eighteen thousand of which perished in the ruins of Catania. See Ferrara Storia Generale dell' Ætna. Catania, 1793.

" talem ac tantum editum fuisse sonitum, quantum vix redderent omnia quæ ubique terrarum sunt tormenta bellica, si vel uno ictu exploderentur." That an adequate idea may be formed of this phænomenon, an English officer stationed at La Scaletta, thirty miles from Ætna, compared even there, this continued explosion to a brisk fire from numerous batteries. In the mean time the inhabitants of Linguagrossa and Castiglione, when they saw their beautiful vineyards converted into enormous and barren mounds of lava, instituted a penitential procession, in which they bore the images of their saints to the borders of the lava, hoping thus to avert its progress. By the second of April, the burning torrent had covered a superficies of seven square miles, and formed three tumuli of scoriæ, two of which stand on one base. On the fifth, it reached the vineyards near Castiglione, and there stopped. But towards Linguagrossa, it continued to proceed, and laid waste an estate, the annual rental of which was four hundred and fifty pounds. By the sixth, the accumulation of large masses had presented great obstacles to its farther progress, and the stream expanded in breadth, now reached an ancient lava, which at first opposed its course; but the burning matter acquiring a constant accession of strength, overcame and cleared it. On the seventh, its progress was sensibly diminished; but showers of ashes were discharged in great quantities, which darkened the atmosphere around, and cannot be better described than in the emphatic words of Seneca, commemorating the effects of an ancient eruption. " Ætna ingentem vim arenæ urentis effudit; involutus est dies pulvere, populosque subita nox terruit." On the evening of the eighth, a violent rain ensued, which continuing for twenty-four hours, contributed to condense and extinguish the burning effluvia, which totally ceased to flow on the tenth, having been in activity for thirteen days. It is difficult to come at a correct estimate of the lava discharged, which must consist of an incredible number of cubic feet. For it extends in length about six thousand paces, in greatest breadth, two thousand

five hundred, in least, one thousand; which gives for the superficies ten and one half square miles, or very nearly. Its mean depth may be estimated at about twenty-four feet. It is worthy of remark, that Stromboli, which is always in activity, ceased to eject flames during this period. Vesuvius also was quiet, but it was in active travail on the eleventh, when the conflagrations of Ætna had ceased. Such are the particulars of an eruption, still fresh in the memory of many English, who were eye-witnesses of the devastation it caused; and who may address each other in the words of Virgil:

quoties Cyclopum effervere in agros
Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Ætnam
Flammarumque globos liquefactaque volvere saxa!

For another discharge took place in January, 1812, and the lava flowed to within a league of Catania. Though far worse eruptions have occurred, yet it may be questioned whether we have any record of Ætna being in such active travail as in the commencement of the nineteenth century.

Syllabus of the mineralogy of Ætna, compiled from the general history of the mountain by the Abate Ferrara, of the Ætnæan Academy, Catania.

	Varieties.
Simple lavas	4
Lavas in which feldspath predominates	35
Lavas in which crystals predominate	13
Lavas in which chrysolites predominate	5
Porous lavas	9
Scoriæ	8
Cinders	7
Sands	9
Puzzolani	8
Lavas which have more than once sustained the action of fire	5
Substances in which sal-ammoniac predominates	3

Varieties.

Metallic substances in which iron predominates 3

Lavas decomposed by sulphuric acid vapours 20

Lavas decomposed by the influence of the atmosphere and water 15

Substances created by the filtration of water in the lavas 14

Agglutination of various volcanic substances 7

Airs—sulphureous, hepatic, inflammable.

Smokes—white, morbidezza di cotone, black.

Plants flourishing on the decomposed lavas.

Asphodelus lutæus, Angelica sylvestris, Psoralea bituminosa, Securidaca Sicula, Melissa Calamintha, Valeriana major rubra, Physalis somnifera, Caucolis Daucoides, Scandix odorata, Alsine orbiculatis foliis, Herniaria glabra, Scutellaria, Sedum album, Galium verum, Daphne laureola, Stellaria nemorum, Ligustrum vulgare, Atropa mandragora, Lycopsis arvensis, Clematis vitalba, Senecia jacobea, Bunias Cakilè, Cenista florida, Hippomarathrum siculum, Pastinaca Opoponax, Vitex Agnus-castus, Acanthus mollis, Ruscus aculeatus, Tanacetum vulgare, Berberis vulgaris, Astragalus Tragacantha, Juniperus communis, Rheum Rhaponticum, Cactus Opuntia, Pistacia Terebinthus, Pistacia fœmina, &c.

Elevation of Ætna according to Dolomieu 10,080 feet above the level of the sea.

Of the great men, who, attracted by the phœnomena of this wonderful volcano, have visited Sicily, Plato stands in the first rank, who, according to Apuleius, * came expressly to investigate its nature. The fate of Empedocles, and the story of one of his slippers having been thrown up from the crater, is too well known to need repetition; it is however more than pro-

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* Platonis tres in Siciliam adventus: primò, historiæ gratiâ, ut Ætnæ naturam, et incendia concavi montis intelligeret.—Apul.

bable, that his suicide which the poets * have attributed to a wish of immortalizing himself, was merely the result of a violent hypochondriac affection. I do not find that Cicero mentions his having explored this volcano; but as we know that he was twice in Sicily, we may conclude that he did not let slip the opportunity of gratifying his active mind with a sight of the most remarkable feature of the island. According to Donatus, Virgil explored Ætna, and if we may believe their commentators, Pindar, and Cornelius Severus, have each observed the phœnomenon, which is described in their respective works.

Ovid † in his elegy to Macer brings to his recollection, that they witnessed an eruption together. And Spartianus relates that the Emperor Adrian went twice to the crater, with the hopes of seeing the sun rise and present the appearance of a rainbow. It is extraordinary that Homer, who places the scene of part of his Odyssey in Sicily, should have omitted the description of Ætna, a subject so worthy the sublimest efforts of his Muse.

This volcano so panic-struck with its fires the Emperor Caligula, ‡ that he fled precipitately from Messina by night, after having laughed at Polyphemus and his crew.

Among the moderns, Pietro Bembo, who has composed a dialogue on this mountain, the indefatigable Kluver, who

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* deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam
Insiluit. HORAT.

† Te duce magnificas Asiæ perspeximus urbes;
Trinacris est oculis, te duce, nota meis.
Vidimus Ætnæâ cœlum splendescere flammâ,
Suppositus cineri quam vomit ore Gigas.

‡ Peregrinatione quidem Siciliensi, irrisis multorum locorum miraculis, repentè è Messanâ noctu profugit, Ætnæ iverticis fumo ac murmure pavefactus. SUETON.

travelled over all Sicily on foot, Klavius, Grienberger, Kircher, Spallanzani, Hamilton, and Schot, have all come to contemplate and admire the wonders of Ætna. Neither have we any grounds for surprize, why this mountain should present such attractions, not only to the natural philosopher, but also to the lover of the picturesque and sublime. If we refer to Burke, who has analyzed the sublime more philosophically than any one else, we shall find that Mongibello unites more of its qualities than perhaps any spot in the world. "To make any thing very terrible," says that illustrious man, "obscurity seems in general to be necessary." And what can be blacker than the desert region, or what obscurer, than the dense smoke that descends its sides? "All general privations are great, because they are terrible," says the same philosopher, "vacuity, darkness, solitude, and silence." And where are these to be found more complete than in the regione scoperta by night? Not a tree, not a shrub, not a blade of grass, not a bird, is there to be seen. When the translator traversed this solitude by night, the wind howled over the dreary waste with a noise similar to what is heard in the shrouds of a man of war, during a gale. "Greatness of dimension is a powerful cause of the sublime." And where is there more extension either in circumference, height, or depth, than from the edge of the crater of Mongibello? *

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* It is true there are many higher mountains, but probably none which rise so high immediately from the sea, if we except the Peak of Teneriffe; or if there be any, they are not accessible. With regard to the Alps or Andes, it may be questioned, whether the view from the highest is so imposing as from Ætna, for they are surrounded by other mountains nearly of equal altitude, which must break the surrounding prospect. Ætna on the contrary, in the words of a Sicilian author, "Si eleva solo, e tutto monta in se stesso, sollevando la superba sua testa, senza congiunzione di verun' altro monte."

"Another source of greatness is difficulty." And what can be more difficult than the strugglings in the interior of the mountain which in the year 1780 ejected a mass of lava six feet in diameter and ten in length, and which is still to be seen a little below the crater? "Magnificence." And what can be more magnificent than the prospect of the sea, as seen through the gigantic trees, in the regione nemorosa, the appearance of the heavens, or the view itself from the summit? "Light." And what can be more striking than the rising sun seen from the crater, which appears some minutes before it is discernible below? Or what more imposing than the light afforded by an eruption? In Catanîâ, ex splendore ipsius ignis quamvis nox erat, ibant gentes ac si lumen in manibus asportâssent. Selvaggio, in his description of the eruption of 1536. "Colour." "An immense mountain covered with a shining turf is nothing in this respect, to one dark and gloomy." This is precisely il Mongibello. "Sound and loudness." And what can be more tremendous than the explosions and intonations, not only during an eruption, but frequently in the usual state of the mountain? "Suddenness, and intermitting noises" Nowhere more remarkable than on Ætna. "Stenches." What can be more mephitic than the sulphureous exhalations? "Power." And what can furnish a higher idea of the power of the First Cause, than the contemplation of Ætna? The lines of Lucretius can hardly fail of striking the classic and philosophic traveller who reaches the summit.

> His tibi me rebus quædam divina voluptas
> Percipit atque *horror*, quòd sic Natura tuâ vi
> Tam manifesta patet ex omni parte retecta!

[61] The fountain Cyane, now called La Pisma. There is a correct view of it in Wilkins's Antiquities of Græcia Magna.

[62] See the frontispiece. The only fragment of the temple of Ceres which the translator could find was a small column;

one half was fluted perpendicularly, the other spirally. For a circumstantial account of the antiquities of Enna, with a critique on the De Raptu Proserpinæ of Claudian, see a Memoir by the translator, in the Classical Journal No. IX. The site of the temple of Ceres, is one of the most picturesque spots in Sicily. See the annexed view.

[63] Sperlinga, or very nearly, remarkable as having been the only town which did not join in the Sicilian vespers. Quod Siculis placuit Sperlinga sola negavit.

[64] The translator, as nearly as he can guess, estimates the circumference of ancient Syracuse, at eighteen miles. The antiquities have been so faithfully given by Wilkins, in his Græcia Magna, that though the translator has collected many documents, he thinks it superfluous to give them here. There is an error of Mirabella, which he cannot however resist noticing, especially as it relates to the man of Arpinum. Mirabella places the tomb of Archimedes within the walls of Neapolis, but probably erroneously. For Cicero, when quæstor in Sicily, says, that he discovered that monument overrun with brambles. Now is it likely that a tomb of so illustrious a man should be left in that condition, in a populous part of the city? Tully adds, that it was without the Agragian gates. May we not plausibly infer that those were in the exterior walls of Neapolis, and faced, as the name would imply, the direction of Agrigentum? The translator is therefore inclined to assign the probable situation of the Syracusan philosopher's tomb without those gates; and somewhere near the Anapus (Alféo) was most likely the spot,

> Where Tully paused amid the wrecks of time,
> On the rude stone, to trace the truth sublime;
> When at his feet, in honour'd dust disclos'd,
> The immortal sage of Syracuse repos'd. ROGERS.

It is remarkable, that in the ruins of so splendid a city, where the arts and sciences were carried to such perfection,

more interesting inscriptions have not been discovered. Now, of the few which are preserved, there is nothing better than this:

ΘΚ
ΝΕΘΑΡΙ ΤΕΚΝΙΟΝ
ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΘΑΝΕΙΝ ΠΕΠΡΟΤΑΙ

Or this:

ΘΚ
Ω ΦΙΛΕ ΚΕΙΣΑΙ
ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΝ ΦΑΤΟ ΜΟΡΣΙΜΟΝ

There are few spots so gratifying to the classic traveller as Syracuse. For on retracing the leading features of its history, the reader is impressed with a greater interest, than in the perusal of the annals of other nations of antiquity. They are not so much stained with nefarious proceedings as those of Athens, Carthage, or Rome; and, generally speaking, we shall find that Syracuse was seldom the aggressor, that she waged war chiefly to repel injuries, and but rarely from motives of ambition. This has been happily recorded in the following lines by Julius Cæsar Scaliger.

Illa ego sum Romæ labor, atque injuria Pæni,
Pro me etiam cladis Græcia sensit onus.
Figere quæ voluêre aliis in sedibus arma,
Exturbata jacent sedibus orba suis.

That Syracuse I am, whose mighty arm
Proud Carthage of her great resources drain'd;
For me Rome delug'd Sicily with blood,
And Greece for me a weight of woes sustain'd.

Those armies that with headstrong fury fraught,
To wrest their right from others basely try'd;
Expell'd their own domains my vengeance felt,
And prostrate at my feet ignobly dy'd.

The remembrance of Marcellus, on whom so splendid a panegyric is conferred by Cicero, will naturally lead the stranger who visits Syracuse, to the ruins of the castle of Labdalus, where that general, in the midst of victory, gave proofs that the bloody toil of war had not obliterated from his heart those sentiments which do honour to human nature. In arce earum constitit; casum ejus lugubrem intuens, fletum cohibere non potuit. Val. Max. Those who visit spots celebrated in the page of history, experience a double satisfaction when the remembrance is at once awakened by the accomplishment of a brilliant exploit, and the display of the amiable qualities of the heart. Who does not feel a greater emotion at the idea of Marcellus melting into tears, than at that of his being borne in triumph along the Flaminian way, the eager Romans accosting each other, nearly in the words of the poet?

Aspice ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
Ingreditur, victorque viros supereminet omnes!

Inscription preserved at Nola in Italy, commemorating Marcellus.

M. CL . MARCELLO
ROMANORVM . ENSI
FVGATO . HANNIBALE
DIREPTIS . SYRACVSIS
V . CONS
S . P . Q . NOLANVS

Other inscriptions commemorating two of the Marcelli, one of whom we find was prætor of Sicily, both recorded by Castelli.

. . . . RER . . . .
. . . . L . CORN . .
MARCELLVS . . . .
PR . PROV . SICIL . L . . .
PR . PROV . EIVSD . PRO . . .
EX MVLTIS

C . BVLTIO . GEMINIO
MARCELLO CI....
IN . HONOREM
GEMINI . TITIANI
PATRIS . XII . TRIB
PATRONO . MERENTI

The ruins of both of the temples mentioned by Cicero, are still to be seen. The temple of Minerva is become the cathedral. And the fragments of the temple of Diana are in a private house.

The fountain of Arethusa so celebrated by the poets, is still protected by a stone wall, from the incursion of the sea. It is now the rendezvous of all the washer-women in Syracuse, who prove by their prating disposition, that they are descended from Gorgo and Praxinoë in a right line. Notwithstanding its present uninspiring appearance, there are some Greek verses, preserved in the Anthologia, relative to this fountain, which the translator subjoins in English.

hunc Arethusa, mihi concede laborem,
Sic tibi cum fluctus subterlabêre Sicanos,
Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam!

Ιμερόεις Αλφειε, Διος σἰεφανηφορον ὑδωρ—και. εἰ.

Impassion'd Alpheus! down whose sacred stream
Roll the bright crowns of Pisa's dusty plain,
Tranquil awhile: anon precipitate
Hurries thy rapid wave athwart the trackless main—
Thou bears't the pledges of thy ardent hopes
T' enjoy Sicilian Arethusa's charms;
Th' enamour'd nymph receives thee panting, faint,
And locks her wat'ry lover in her arms.
And gently wipes the briny weed away,
And prints upon his lips the burning kiss;

Th' Olympic stream in am'rous fetters bound,
Pants on her breast, and quaffs ecstatic bliss.

* * * * *

Thy Syracusan bride delights no more;
Melting desire from thy breast is fled;
The purple blushes rise—no more thy flood
Tinges the deep, or Arethusa's bed.
Yet oft the thought of tasted joy returns,
On am'rous converse bent, thou speed'st away;
But fly'st, at seeing thy lov'd mistress' wave
Bright, and untainted with the briny spray—
Fair Arethusa by Pelorus sees
Her weeping lover pine, and beats her breast;
Wastes like the dew on fragrant roses shed,
And sinks, by sympathetic grief oppress'd.

[65] This street is still visible; and still exhibits the ruts of carriage wheels.

[66] For the detail of its remains see Wilkins.

[67] This statue was transported to Rome by Tiberius, according to Mirabella. Alter Verres!

[68] Manuzio proposed *fraxineas* for *gramineas*. The translator often saw in Sicily, large reeds of sufficient size and stiffness for the fabrication of spears. He has therefore followed the old reading.

[69] In the original "etiamne *id* concupisti?" The translator proposes "*eas*."

[70] Fine vein of irony, continued afterwards. The translator has endeavoured to restore the Sappho in the frontispiece.

[71] According to Pliny, Silanion flourished in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad; he was cotemporary with Lysippus, and was self-taught. Zeuxis and Iades were his scholars. He cast a statue of Apollodorus, who was so passionately fond of his art, that he could never be satisfied with his productions; often destroying the finest of his works. Silanion executed a

fine statue of Achilles, and a wrestler. He was a native of Athens, and made a statue of Plato, which was placed in the academy. He executed also a Corinna in bronze, a dying Jocasta, and a Theseus. Junius de Pict. veter. passim.

[72] Verres probably wrenched out the letters, and the holes which were left, still indicated the lines of the epigram; or we must suppose that another epigram was inscribed commemorating the theft.

[73] Here the classical reader will no doubt bring to mind, that if Marcellus inquired for the living Archimedes, Cicero did not forget, when quæstor, to be informed of the spot where he lay; and of which so entertaining an account is preserved in the Tusculan Questions, book v. ch. 23.

[74] The city of Reggio suffered severely from the earthquake of 1782, and bears dreadful marks of the devastation it caused. The translator could find nothing of the ancient Rhegium, but a few mutilated granite columns.

[75] The Venus here alluded to was probably the work of Pythagoras, a native of Rhegium; whose skill Pliny commemorates. He executed the Europa on a bull preserved at Tarentum. Tatianus. The Satyr was perhaps one of his works; unless Cicero alluded to the celebrated one of Praxiteles called **ΠΕΡΙΒΟΗΤΟΣ.** On the Cnidian Venus and Thespian Cupid by the same sculptor, see a preceding note. The Ephesian Alexander painted by Apelles, as well as the Coan Venus, are mentioned by Pliny. Speaking of the first, he says "Digiti eminere videntur, et fulmen extra tabulam esse." The Ajax and Medea here alluded to by Cicero, was probably the work of Timanthes, in which he excelled Parrhasius, Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 10. The Ialysus was the finest of the works of Protogenes; for a circumstantial account of which see Plin. loc. citat. When Demetrius besieged Rhodes, he abstained from setting fire to the city for the sake of this picture. The Paralus mentioned by Cicero, was also a work of Protogenes, and placed within the Propylæa at Athens. Plin. ubi suprà.

[76] Verrutius, fictitious name which Verres used to mask his frauds. In this sentence the words "præclaras tabulas" occur. They may indeed refer to the registers of Carpinatius, in which Verres was entered under the false title of Verrutius; but the words here probably mean "fine pictures;" for the orator would surely not have discussed a knotty point of law for the sake of recreation; let us then imagine that Cicero in company with some Roman knights amused himself in the picture gallery of Carpinatius, at the same time indulging in some ironical sallies on the spurious Verres.

[77] It would appear that Heraclius made Verres his heir, who probably to court favour with the wrestlers, promised to consign the property to them; part of which however he took care to keep back.

[78] Probably a former proconsul of Sicily.

THE

PLEADING

CONCERNING THE

PUNISHMENTS.

THE

ARGUMENT,

WRITTEN BY QUINTUS HORTENSIUS.[2]

THE fifth and last book of the pleadings against Caius Verres, is beyond comparison the finest. As often as any one peruses the elegant and numerous descriptions of the plunder of the statues in the fourth book; of the violated temples, and pillaged monuments of Sicily; as often as it is suggested to him with what pathos, with what power of language, the calamity and flight of Sthenius, or the catastrophe and punishment of the Philodami, is described in the preceding books, it would appear that nothing could be added to that elegance and volubility of language, or to the power and dignity of the eloquence. But as soon as he casts his eye on this book, it then becomes evident that Tully only before glanced intentionally at the other iniquities of Verres, that he might insist upon the cruelties practised on Roman citizens, with the greater vehemence, and display in the narration all his powers.

Cicero might almost seem in his former pleadings only to have dipped into the brook of his eloquence, but in this, to have rolled forth his whole torrent in the description of the punishments of the captains and of Gavius, and in so atrocious a case, to have consumed all the elocutory powers he possessed; did not he who was born by a special interposition of heaven, and in whom eloquence was destined to exhibit all her powers,

produce new and unexpected flashes of his exuberant and immortal genius.

It was no longer doubtful that Verres had given in to every species of fraud and depredation, in the most shameless manner; and that this most abandoned and avaricious man was so clearly convicted, that no room for pleading in his defence appeared left. But since the duties of prætors were two-fold; namely, the administration of the laws, and the direction of war; Hortensius could build his defence on that point, and divert the attention from his avarice, to the praises of his military valour. Cicero therefore having combated and gained the other points, in this book, attacks the citadel of his adversary, and pretends, as in the preceding pleadings, that the defence of Verres is valid: that for the good of the state, he had sold the tithes for so large a sum, that he had bought, not plundered the pictures, statues, and other ornaments of Sicily. These pretended pleas nevertheless he presently tears to pieces, and attacks him in this oration, by a similar stratagem. He takes as a fictitious ground of argument, the military virtue so cried up by Hortensius, and contends that his right to the title of good general ought to be eradicated from the opinions of the judges. Tully does not refute this plea of his adversary by argument, but by embellishing and exaggerating it. And he never opposes him so happily as when he develops those playful and facetious sallies, which enliven the narration throughout, and by which the defence of Verres is wholly turned into ridicule. This is the first part of the contest. But when Cicero enters upon the second, and melts into tears, as he describes the tortures of slaves applied to Roman citizens, and the captains of ships, he excites at once in his audience sentiments of indignation, hatred, and compassion, not only by the recollection of the unhappy lot of the sufferers, of the scene, and mode of their punishment, but also by the proof of the goodness of his own heart. The style then of this oration, is most deeply impressive to those who read it. It not merely fascinates, but overwhelms them

with horror. This is effected not only by the painful idea of the infliction of tortures, but by the astonishing profusion of facetious and ironical sallies, to which the descriptions and fictions add force. They are frequent in this book, and so highly wrought, as to strike the imagination deeply, by placing the circumstance before the eyes, so as to appear to be actually carried on, rather than described. But since weariness is near a-kin to the highest pleasures, and an oration, however brilliantly coloured, could not for ever please, it was necessary for the orator to exhibit his skill in darkly shading some parts of his speech, that it might be more gratifying from its variety, and not weary by profusion of ornament; that the brilliant parts, in fine, might stand out conspicuous.

It has been clearly proved, I apprehend to every one of you, my Lords, that Caius Verres both clandestinely and openly has despoiled Sicily of all her ornaments, whether sacred or profane, in the most shameless manner; and that he has carried on these depredations, not only without a sense of religion, but also without dissimulation. Nevertheless, some splendid and weighty defence or other, is held out to me in reply; to answer which, my Lords, I must previously devote much attention. For the drift of the argument is this: that the province of Sicily has been preserved in critical times, from the incursions of pirates and the perils of war, through his admirable vigilance and valour. What am I to do, which way to turn, my Lords? What arguments can I muster in reply to this? For the title of good general is opposed, like a bastion, to my attacks. I am aware of the ground of argument, from which Hortensius

proposes to hold his head high. He will dwell upon the perils of the war, the state of affairs, and the poverty of our generals. He will then contend on his own ground, to obtain that you will not suffer such a commander to be forced from the Roman people, by the testimonies of Sicilians, nor the honour of our generals to be run down by false charges of peculation.

I cannot play the hypocrite, my Lords; I am afraid that Caius Verres will be able to escape with impunity, what is due to his crimes, on account of these heroic achievements. For I remember what weight and influence the speech of Marcus Antonius was supposed to have in the trial of Marcus Aquillius, [2] who not only being an adroit orator, but also a man of energy, at the close of his speech, laid hold of Aquillius, placed him in the middle of the court, and having torn his robe from his breast, displayed to the judges and audience, the scars which he had received in fighting for his country. He expatiated also much on the wound, which was inflicted on his head, by a general of the enemy. And thus he obtained such an influence on the judges, as to make them apprehend, that he, whom fortune had rescued from the weapons of the enemy, but not his own cowardice, should appear to be pre-

served not for the honour of the Roman people, but to fall a victim to the cruelty of his judges. The same method is intended to be pursued in the defence of Verres. It is no matter whether he be guilty of theft, sacrilege, and every other crime; he is declared to be a great and fortunate general, and destined to rescue the state in times of difficulty.

I will not press the matter hard upon you. I will not require what I ought perhaps to obtain, and of which this tribunal ought strictly speaking to be informed, not of your military actions, but whether or no you have abstained from peculation. I will not, I repeat, thus deal with you; but I will demand, as I understand you wish, what, and how great these military achievements of your's are. What will you say for yourself?

Was Sicily then through your prowess, freed from the war of the run-away slaves?[3] A glorious feat, I grant, and a plausible defence. But in what war? For we understood, that after the war which M. Aquillius put an end to, there remained no contest with the run-aways in Sicily. But it existed in Italy. Granted; severe too, and terrible. Do you then aspire to reap celebrity from that? Do you think you are entitled to share the glory of that victory with Marcus Crassus, or Cneius Pompeius?

I dare say you have impudence enough left to claim something of that nature. Forsooth it was you who prevented the renegadoes crossing from Italy to Sicily. Where? When? From what quarter? Was it when they attempted to approach the shores in their ships, or small craft? We have never heard of this, but we have heard that through the foresight and valour of the intrepid Marcus Crassus, they were prevented crossing the straits of Messana with their entire fleet. From which there would not have been so much occasion to use exertions to prohibit them, if the garrisons in Sicily had been deemed sufficiently strong to resist their approach. But the war which raged in Italy, so near Sicily, did not then reach that island. Where is the wonder? For when it was waged in Sicily, not the smallest particle of it reached Italy, though separated by the same intervening space.

To which side then are we to refer this plea of the neighbourhood of the two countries? Is it that an approach was easy to the enemy, or the danger of spreading the war great? All approach was not only cut off, but absolutely hindered from men in possession of no fleets: so much so, that you would affirm it easier for those, to whom Sicily was near, to make for the open sea, than Pelorus. But why is this pre-

vention of the spreading of the servile war held forth by you rather than by those, who were governors in other provinces? Is it because war against these renegadoes was carried on before in Sicily? But that is the very reason why that province is, and was more free from danger. For after that M. Aquillius quitted it, the prætors issued an edict to this purport, that no slave should carry arms. The proof I am going to state of this, is old, and on account of the severity it displayed, probably unknown to none of you. When a large boar was carried to L. Domitius, prætor of Sicily, he wondered at the size, and demanded who killed it. They told him, a certain shepherd; who being summoned in his presence, ran with eagerness to the prætor, for the sake, as he thought, of being praised and rewarded. Domitius asked how he killed so huge an animal; he answered, with a hunting spear. He was immediately by the prætor's order, hurried away to be crucified. This no doubt will appear harsh, and very far am I from saying any thing in its justification. I only infer that Domitius preferred severe measures in noticing a breach of the laws, to the appearance of being negligent in passing them over. With these laws then in force, throughout the province, at the period when all Italy was in a ferment from the servile war, Caius

Norbanus, by no means an energetic man, enjoyed there the greatest tranquillity. Sicily protected herself with the utmost ease, as no war could reach her. For since our merchants live on the very best terms with the Sicilians; and since they have such laws in force, that it is politic for them to be at peace; since the Romans so value that province, that they would by no means hazard its loss or change, and since these dangers from the slaves are provided against by the severe discipline of their owners, and the edicts of the prætors, no domestic evil to the province could spring from itself. Were there then no disturbances, I ask, among the slaves in Sicily, when Verres was prætor? Was it said that no conspiracies were then entered into? Certainly no report of them reached the Roman senate and people; he sent no written memorial of them thither. I nevertheless am of opinion, that commotions among them began to take place in particular spots. And I conclude so, not so much from the circumstance itself, as from his decrees and measures. And observe, I pray, how candidly I wish to deal with him. I will here commemorate openly, exactly what he wishes, and what you never yet heard of. At Triocale,[4] which the renegado slaves formerly occupied, the family of one Leonidas, a Sicilian, was suspected of conspi-

racy. The case is laid before Verres. The suspicious persons are immediately apprehended, and brought to Lilybæum, as may be imagined. Their master is ordered to attend; a trial takes place, and they are condemned. What do you infer from this, my Lords? Do you think they were guilty of some theft or depredation? By no means expect it. In the fear of war, what room can there be for pillaging? And if an occasion presented itself, it was passed over in this case. He could then deprive Leonidas of some of his money, when he summoned him in his presence. There was some scandalous corruption, not unpractised by him before, that Leonidas should not plead his cause, and another bribery must have been attempted to effect the acquittal of the slaves. Since the slaves were condemned, what power could they have of robbing? They must notwithstanding suffer punishment. Those of the council are witnesses of this; the public records attest it; the splendid city of Lilybæum itself attests it; an honourable and great assembly of Roman citizens attest it. It is of no avail. They are to be led forth, and tied to the stake.

You now, my Lords, appear to wish to be apprized of the issue of this transaction; for he never did any thing of this sort, without having some lucre in view. What advantage then, do

you apprehend, he gained from an occurrence of this nature? Picture to your imaginations, as bad a deed as you are able, I will nevertheless surpass all your expectations. Condemned with the imputation of crime and conspiracy, though given over to punishment, and tied to the stake, all of a sudden, in the presence of many thousand spectators, they are released, and restored to their master Leonidas! O frantic man! what have you to say for yourself? except that, which I do not seek to know, which nevertheless, in so nefarious a case, though it cannot be doubted, yet if doubted, should be cleared up? How much money did you compound for? I will release you from your anxiety on this score; neither am I apprehensive, of your being able to persuade any one that you accomplished this business for nothing; a deed which no one but you, could have been tempted to do, by any sum. But I will pass over that system of bribery and robbing. I am now to call in question the praise due to your military skill.

What have you to say, my vigorous administrator and defender of the province? Did you dare to release those slaves from the stake, whom you had ascertained to wish to take up arms, and ravage Sicily with war, when you had approved of the decree of the court which sen-

tenced them to suffer the usual punishment? Did you release them, for the sake of preserving that crucifix unstained, which you had erected for condemned slaves, to impale innocent Roman citizens? States verging to destruction, generally experience these disastrous ends. The emancipation of the guilty, the release of convicts, the revocation of exiles, the annulling of judiciary sentences usually mark the close of their career.[5] In whatever state these things occur, every body must be sensible of its approaching ruin. And then it is that its case is hopeless. And whenever these things take place, they are so managed that noblemen in favour with the people get their sentences of banishment, or punishment annulled, but not by those who preside at the tribunals; but not immediately; but not if they be condemned of those crimes, which affect the lives and fortunes of the community. But this is an unprecedented case and of such a nature, that it would appear more credible on account of the character of the person at the bar, than from the case itself; that these slaves whom he himself had judged as guilty of a crime which nearly affected the lives and fortunes of all freemen, should all of a sudden be let loose in the midst of their punishment.

O the consummate general! surely not to

be compared to the intrepid M. Aquillius, but to the Paulli, the Scipios, the Marii! Was he thus far provident in the dangerous crisis of the province? How much terror did he inspire when he saw the dispositions of the slaves in Sicily held in suspense by the war which was waging against them in Italy? He ordered them to be seized. Who would not be alarmed? The owners to plead for them. How terrible to the slaves? He said, they *appeared* to be implicated in conspiracy; and he seems to have extinguished the flame of rebellion by the punishment and death of a few individuals. What follows? Stripes, fire, tortures, and a crucifix, for the sake of deterring others. They are all liberated from these punishments. Who can doubt but that he inspired the minds of the slaves with the greatest terror, when they saw the prætor so indifferent as to give orders for the release of conspirators, the executioner himself being the go-between? What? Did you not treat Aristodamus of Apollonia,[6] and Leon of Megara in the same way? I ask, if that sedition of the slaves gave rise to activity in your protection of the province, or to a new system of the vilest peculation?

When the steward of Eumenides, a noble and wealthy citizen of Alycia,[7] was impeached by your orders, you took sixty sesterces from

his master, and he lately deposed upon oath, how it was transacted. You took a hundred, from C. Matrinius, a Roman knight, in his absence, because you had said his stewards and shepherds were suspicious persons. L. Flavius, the bailiff of Matrinius, declared this, who counted out the money to you. Matrinius himself declared it; as will Cn. Lentulus the censor, who took care to send you bills lately, on the credit of Matrinius. Is it possible to pass over in silence the transaction relative to Apollonius of Panormus, the son of Diocles, whose surname is Geminus? What is clearer than this case throughout Sicily, what more scandalous, what more barefaced can be mentioned? On his arrival at Panormus, he ordered Apollonius to be summoned before him from the seat of judgment, in the presence of a great concourse of people; who began to wonder how he could have so long suffered Apollonius, a wealthy man, to enjoy his fortune unmolested. He meditated therefore some plan or other. For no opulent man is suddenly summoned by Verres without some reason. All were eagerly expecting what that could be; when behold Apollonius, panic struck, hastens towards him with his young son. His father being decrepid with age, had long been confined to his bed. Verres names a slave of his, who had looked after his

cattle, and whom he accused of having entered into a conspiracy, and excited other families to do the same. There was no such slave in his family. He orders him to be brought forth instantaneously. Apollonius continued to declare that he had no servant at all of that description. Verres orders him to be forced away from the seat of judgment, and to be thrown into prison. The other exclaimed, as they were hurrying him along, that he was wronged, had done nothing, had committed nothing; that he possessed no ready money, but that some was owing to him. While a great assembly of bystanders witnessed these proceedings, any one of whom was convinced that because he did not surrender his money he was doomed to so severe a punishment; when, I affirm, he loudly declared the same concerning his money, he was cast into prison. Mark well the firmness of our prætor, and of that prætor, who now stands an accused person, and is not to be defended as a man of moderate capacity, but to be absolutely praised, as a consummate governor. At a period when the servile war was apprehended, he inflicted that punishment on innocent masters, from which he rescued guilty slaves. He consigned Apollonius to prison, with the pretext of there being a revolt among his slaves, without suffering him to plead in his

defence; himself a wealthy man, and who, had there been any commotions among the slaves in Sicily, would have lost his valuable property. The slaves, whom he ascertained to have conspired against the peace, without consulting the opinion of the council, and of his own doing, he emancipated from punishment wholly. But if Apollonius had been implicated, how was cognizance of his offence taken legitimately? Shall we, notwithstanding, so state the case, that we may think it ought to be imputed as crime, or a subject of grudge to the accused, if he judged any man with severity? I will not press so hard upon him; I will not avail myself of that usual method of accusing; if he has shewn clemency in any case, I will not tax him with negligence; if he has punished any crime with asperity, I will not draw over him the detestation due to cruelty. I say, I will not deal thus with him; I will follow your own verdicts, I will defend your authority, as long as you please, and abide by you, as soon as you begin to rescind your verdicts. Cease therefore to bear animosity against me. For I will contend on my own ground, that he who is condemned by his own verdicts, ought to be so in the opinions of judges upon oath. I will not defend the cause of Apollonius, my host and friend, for fear of rescinding your own verdict; I will

not commemorate the temperance, virtue, and activity of that man; I will pass over the circumstance, to which I have before alluded, that his property was so settled whether in slaves, cattle, villas, and money upon trust, that it would suit no one less to witness any disturbances in Sicily. I will not indeed dwell upon this point, that, be Apollonius ever so guilty, an honourable man of a distinguished city ought not so severely to have been punished, without having it in his power to plead in his defence. I will not stir up any hatred against you in these proceedings, nor from the circumstance of a man being thrown into a dark and noisome dungeon by your tyrannical edicts, and of his not having it in his power to meet his father, in a state of decrepitude, or his youthful son. I will moreover omit this circumstance, that as often as you came to Panormus,[7] during those eighteen months that Apollonius was imprisoned, so often did the senate of that city, attended by the magistrates and priests, beseech you with entreaties and prayers to suffer the unhappy and innocent man to be released from his undeserved calamity. I will pass over all these things; which, if I wished to insist upon, I could easily shew that from your cruelty to others, all avenues of compassion from the judges towards you have been long since closed.

I will then give way to you, and not insist upon these atrocities. I foresee how Hortensius intends to defend you. He will say that neither the age of the father, the youthfulness of the son, nor the tears of either, could outweigh your consideration for the welfare and salvation of Sicily: he will say that the affairs of the state cannot be administered without severe measures, or the inspiration of fear: he will ask why the fasces are borne before the prætors, why the axe is committed to their charge, why prisons are built, why so many punishments, in fine, are decreed for the bad by the laws of our ancestors. All of which when he has stated with impressive dignity, I will inquire, why the same Verres ordered the identical Apollonius to be set free from jail, without any assignable reason, plea, or cause. And I will say, that there is so much weight in the suspicion of this crime alone, that I will leave the judges themselves to guess, without any arguments on my part, how infamously, and how shamefully, with a view to immense gain, this system of peculation appears to have been carried on. Hear, in short, of what nature, and in what number are his unjust proceedings with respect to Apollonius. Then weigh and estimate them by the value of money; and you will find that this one wealthy man was so variously ill-treated, that from his case

alone, the fear of similar inconveniences, and an example of danger was held out to all other individuals. In the first place, there is a sudden impeachment of an odious and capital crime, (estimate it at what rate you choose, and believe that numerous people ransomed him); in the next place, there is a charge without an accuser, a sentence without a court, a condemnation without a defence, (estimate what could possibly compensate for these deeds, and believe that Apollonius alone was guilty of those iniquities, and that others liberated themselves from a similar dilemma by the advancement of money); lastly, there were chains, a dark and solitary dungeon, seclusion from the light and air, and the company of his parents and children. These things may be compensated by the death of the criminal, but certainly not by any pecuniary donative. Apollonius, it is true, was rescued, though late, but not till he was reduced to a skeleton through grief and calamity; he nevertheless warned others to beware of the avarice and wickedness of Verres; unless perhaps you are of opinion that this wealthy man, without any view for gain, was pitched upon as a perpetrator of so incredible a crime, or without the same object, was all of a sudden let loose from jail; or that this method of plundering was adopted by Verres against him alone, and that

through him, fear was not inspired in all the other opulent Sicilians.

I wish, my Lords, to be prompted by him, if I should happen to omit any circumstance touching his military prowess. But I appear to have related all his exploits which had any thing to do with suspected disturbances among the slaves. Certainly, I have not knowingly omitted any. You have heard stated the vigilance, energy, and foresight, displayed by the man, in his protection of the province. It remains for you to know to what class of governors he is to be assigned, for you are aware, there are many. That you should not be longer kept in ignorance of this consummate prætor, especially as there is such a dearth of great men, I beg you not to think there is any thing so contemptible in him as the sagacity of Q. Maximus, the celerity of the movements of the elder Africanus, the singular prudence of the younger, the discipline and firmness of Paulus, or the energy and valour of C. Marius; but I entreat you to refer him entirely to a higher description of men.

With regard to his manner of travelling, which is an essential requisite in military duties, and more especially in Sicily, listen my Lords, how easy and pleasant he made it both in theory and practice. In the first place, he provided

an excellent remedy against the severity of the climate in the winter months, and the coldness occasioned by the rains and inundations. For he fixed upon the city of Syracuse as his habitation, and the climate and situation of that place is said to be such, that no day in the most inclement season occurs, but what the sun at some hour of that day is visible. This active general so passed his time there during the winter months, that he was hardly ever seen out of his bed, much less out of his house. The short time he was up was passed in banqueting; his long nights, in the indulgence of brutal appetites. At the approach of spring, which was not notified to him by the western breeze, or the appearance of any star, (for he only guessed it had set in, by the blowing of the roses,) he undertook his fatiguing journies, in which he displayed such dauntless hardihood and patience, that he was never ever seen on horseback. For, as was customary with the kings of Bithynia, he was carried in a lettiga,[8] borne by eight men, in which there was laid a muslin pillow stuffed with roses, manufactured in Melitè. He wore a crown on his head, and a bracelet round his neck; he applied also a *ridicule* spun with the finest thread, and embroidered with spots, to his nose, filled with roses. Thus journeying, on his arrival at any town, he

was carried in the same lettiga to his lodging. There the Sicilian magistrates, and the Roman knights were in waiting for him, as you have heard from numerous witnesses on oath. Lawsuits were privately laid before him, and soon after the verdicts were openly repealed. Then after remaining a little time in his chamber, and he had given verdicts according to a stated price, not to the established laws, he thought proper to consign the rest of his time to Venus and Bacchus. And as I am on this subject, a conspicuous example of the singular vigilance and activity of our all-accomplished prætor must not be omitted. I would have you know, there is no town in all Sicily, where the prætors are wont to hold the sessions, wherein some woman of respectable family was not fixed upon for the gratification of his desires. Some of them appeared in public, at his banquets; those who had a greater sense of decorum, avoided being seen, and came at a stated time. And these banquets were not observed with that silence, and modesty, which usually are attended to at the festivals given by our prætors and generals, but with the loudest clamour and abuse. The guests not unfrequently came to blows. For our strict and exemplary prætor never obeying the laws of the Roman people, diligently observed those which were enacted at a feast,

These entertainments generally so terminated, that one or other of the guests was taken home as if from a field of battle; another was left for dead; many lay senseless and breathless on the floor; so that any one who witnessed these things, would think that they were carried on rather at a field of Cannæ, than a prætor's banquet. When the summer had fully set in, which portion of the year all the Sicilian prætors were accustomed to pass in travelling, for they thought that at that period the province ought to be particularly surveyed, as then the corn is got into the barns, the families are collected, the number of slaves are counted over, the labour is particularly looked into, the season is convenient, and the abundance of the crops suggests it; it was then, I say, when other prætors were busy in going about, this one, absolutely *sui generis*, pitched a stationary camp for himself in the most beautiful quarter of Syracuse.

At the entrance of the port itself, where the bay inclines from the shore towards the city, he pitched tents composed of fine linen.[9] Hither he retired from the palace which belonged to Hiero, in so private a way, that during that time, no one ever saw him elsewhere. Here nobody had access to him, except some friend, or pander of his lust. Here all those mistresses

which he kept assembled; and it is incredible, what a multitude of them there were at Syracuse. Here all his friends worthy of such an associate, and way of life, were regaled. Here was his son introduced among his slaves and concubines, being yet an adult; so that if nature would have torn him away from the imitation of his father, his habits would have compelled him to resemble him. There it was that that Tertia, introduced to him by stratagem, through a Rhodian minstrel, is reported to have made a distinguished figure at these *fêtes champêtres;* the wife of Cleomenes, the Syracusan, and of Æschrion, both of good family, being affronted that the daughter of Isidorus the actor should be present at the same assembly as themselves. But our Hannibal, who thought that valour should obtain in his camp, not rank, so loved this Tertia, as to carry her with him from Sicily. And during this time, while he was engaged in entertaining his concubines, attired in a purple robe which reached to his feet, people were not offended with him, nor did they complain of the absence of the magistrates, or of lawsuits not being adjusted; though the whole shore resounded with female voices, and vocal and instrumental music; it was not complained of; nor was there silence in the courts of judicature; for the tribunals did not appear to be deserted,

since they were the scene of violence, cruelty, and a scandalous monopoly.

Will you then persist in defending this governor of your's, Hortensius? Will you endeavour to veil his thefts, avarice, cruelty, pride, impiety, and insolence, with the magnitude of his exploits, and the praises due to illustrious chieftains? Here forsooth it is to be apprehended, that at the close of your defence, you may have recourse to that Antonian method of pleading, of producing Verres, stripping him to the breast, for the Romans to behold the wounds received in their service—wounds, the consequence of his struggles with females, the arguments of his lust, and abominations!

Would to God you would presume to dwell on his military achievements! All his debts of long standing shall be made known to you, that you may not only ascertain what he was as governor, but also in his payments. That first campaign shall be renewed when he was hurried out of the forum, not as he states, persuaded to go. The camps of the dice-thrower Placentinus shall be commemorated, where he frequently attended, and lost all he had. Many of his losses shall be stated, which were paid by him, after deducting the interest due. After he had grown callous from frequently disgracing himself, not through his own satiety, but that

of others; how can it belong to me to state what sort of man he was, how many garrisons of modesty he dismantled, or how to connect any thing with his vile conduct but shame? I will not have recourse to this, my Lords; I will omit all past offences. But I will state two examples without attaching infamy to any body; and I will leave you to conjecture respecting the rest. There is one so notorious to all, that no countryman came to Rome from any corporate town, on his being subpœnaed, during the consulate of L. Lucullus, and M. Cotta, but he knew, that all the verdicts of the prætor were influenced by the nod and pleasure of his mistress Chelidon. There is another, which is this: that when Verres went forth in uniform, and offered his prayers for the safety and prosperity of the Roman people and his own province, he was carried in his lettiga to a married woman, who was a common prostitute; and this he did in opposition to the laws, in defiance of all divine and human institutions. O ye immortal gods! What a contrast is there between the thoughts and intentions of men! When you and the Roman people consigned those duties to my charge, which I undertook, I thought myself bound by every tie of religion to fulfil them, and may your good opinion, the seeking of which is the main object of my life,

always approve my zeal! When therefore I was made quæstor, I not only thought it an honour, but also a duty intrusted in my hands. And I so filled that office in Sicily, as to believe that the eyes of all were turned towards me, and that I was performing a part on the great theatre of the world; and I so behaved as not to imagine myself entitled to the gratification of these extraordinary indulgences, but even to deny myself the common requisites of life. I am now edile elect, and take into account what I am about to receive from the Roman people. I am sensible that games are to be celebrated with the greatest splendour, to Ceres, Bacchus, and Proserpine; that Flora is to be propitiated by festivals; that those most ancient games which had their first origin at Rome, are to be instituted with the greatest solemnity to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; that the care of the temples, and the whole city is committed to my hands; and that, on account of the labour and anxiety, which attend the discharge of these functions, the prerogatives of speaking first in the senate, of wearing the long white robe, of presiding in the curule chair, and of having a bust executed to transmit my memory to posterity, are granted. In the fulfilling of these duties, my Lords, I implore the gods to be so propitious to my endeavours, that however sen-

sible of the great honour conferred upon me by the people, I may not look to reaping so much pleasure, as anxiety and labour; that this edileship may appear to be properly bestowed, not because it was necessary to give it to some candidate, but because it had devolved on him by the votes of the people, who might seem capable of filling it. When you, by whatever means, was returned as prætor, (I will not dwell on what then took place,) when, I say, you was returned, and admonished by the herald himself repeatedly, that you had been vested with that honour by the suffrages of the old and young, who constituted the hundreds, was you not warned to think that a part of the republic was committed to your care? That for that one year, you was to be deprived of your mistress's villa? When it had fallen to your lot that you should preside at the tribunals, you never took heed of the importance of the duty, nor did you take to account, if it were haply possible to bring you to your senses, that that province which it would be difficult to govern even with consummate prudence and integrity, was about to be committed to an abandoned fool. You was therefore unwilling not only to exclude Chelidon from the prætorship, but you actually introduced the whole business of government into her *boudoir*. The province devolved on

you; and you never imagined that the insignia of office were committed to your charge for any other reason but to break down all the barriers of law, modesty, and duty; but to pillage every one of his property, but that the life, the dwelling, the virtue of each individual should be exposed to the attacks of your ungovernable avarice. Here you so conducted yourself, that though apprehended as guilty of every thing laid to your charge, you fly to the circumstances of the servile war for your defence, which so far from affording you any plea, you are now aware only heap double damnation upon you. Unless indeed you will state in your excuse, the embers of the servile war in Italy, and the disaster that occurred at Tempsa." In which, if fortune assisted you in the display of any virtue and energy, you will nevertheless be detected as being what you always was. When the inhabitants of Valentia came to you, and requested, through M. Marius, an eloquent nobleman, that you would undertake that affair, as you was vested with prætorial authority, and head the detachment to annihilate that insignificant force; you not only refused the duty, but was seen loitering on the beach with that Tertia of your's, who was your companion. To the Valentians themselves, inhabitants of a noted free town, you gave no reply concerning things

of such moment, habited as you was in your suit of black. How do you think he would conduct himself in a province, which when he left not to go to a triumph, but a seat of judgment, he could not avoid reaping infamy without any concomitant pleasure?

O those impressive murmurs which resounded from a crowded senate in the temple of Bellona! Do you remember, my Lords, in the evening, and a little before the arrival of the news of this Tempsan disaster, when no one could be found fit to be sent thither with military authority, that some one said "*Verres is near Tempsa,*" what universal shouts of indignation ensued; and how openly the principal members denounced his going thither? Can he then who is convicted of so many crimes, by so many depositions, place any reliance upon their suffrages in his favour, by whose words he was avowedly condemned, ere his guilt was unknown? Well then, he reaped no glory from the servile war, or from the management of it; neither was there any danger of its existence in Sicily, neither did he make any provision against it. But he had a fleet well equipped against the incursions of pirates, and he applied singular diligence in the prosecution of that war. The province then, was well defended during his prætorship. I will now state, my Lords, the

occurrences of the piratical war, and the movements of the Sicilian fleet, so as to be able to confirm all his guilt in avarice, treason, lust, madness, and cruelty. I beseech you, as you have hitherto done, to pay especial attention to my concise statement. In the first place I say that the naval affairs were so administered, that money was required, not for the defence of the province, but with the pretext of furnishing supplies for the fleet. When other prætors had been accustomed to exact a quota of ships, sailors, and marines, from all the cities, you exempted the opulent city of Messana from furnishing its share. We shall presently see what money the Messanians gave you clandestinely for their exemption; we will inquire into it from their registers and witnesses. I affirm that a beautiful and immense speronara, equalling a trireme in size, was openly built for you at the public expense, and presented by the magistrates and senate of Messana, as all Sicily can testify. This vessel, loaded with Sicilian booty, itself forming a part, was drifted with him on board to Velia,[12] stocked with many goods, which with his other thefts, he was before unwilling to consign to Rome, because he was particularly pleased with them. I myself saw that very ship at Velia, so, my Lords, did many others; which appeared to all the spectators to

foresee the banishment, and look out for the absconding of its owner. What will you answer to this? Will you say that it was built from your private purse, which though impossible to be proved, is necessary for you to assert in your trial for peculation. Dare at least to say what is necessary. Do not be afraid, Hortensius, of my inquiring what right a senator has to build a ship. Those laws, to use your own phrase, which prohibit it, are become obsolete. That republic once existed, that severity once prevailed in our tribunals, which might authorize an accuser to object this crime in his enumeration of great offences. What need had you for a vessel? You, to whom ships were allowed both for your protection and conveyance? But it was unlawful for you in a private manner, to sail any where, or put craft in requisition from those places, where you was not permitted to carry on trade. In the next place, what right had you to provide any thing contrary to law? This crime would tell against you, in the good old times of the republic. I am so far from imputing it to you now as such, that I do not even charge you with common blame. In fine, did you not think that it would be interpreted to your disgrace and guilt, for a large speronara to be built in a celebrated port, for you who was named

named governor of the province? What do you think those said, who witnessed it, or what the opinion of those who heard of it? Was it that you was about to carry an empty bark to Italy? Or that on your arrival at Rome, you purposed letting out ships for hire? Might not any one suspect that you had in Italy property employed in carrying on traffic beyond the seas, and that you procured this speronara for the exportation of your stores? Did you wish the public conversation to turn upon this, that you provided this ship to transport your booty from Sicily, and to return thither for the transportation of your other thefts? I will yield the point if you prove that it was built from your privy purse. But are you not aware, you desperate madman, that all power of doing this is taken away, by those flatterers of your's, the Messanians? For Heius has deposed, he who is chief of the city, and who headed the embassy to congratulate you, that the Messanians built the ship for you by the city workmen, and that a Messanian senator publicly presided at its construction. But where are the materials? They were provided by the Rhegians, pursuant to your public orders, as they themselves declare, because they could not be procured at Messana; and this you cannot deny. If both the materials and workmen were at hand, for the fitting out the vessel

at your orders, not at a stipulated price, why then is the sum which you say you paid, not accounted for? The Messanians have nothing respecting it in their accounts. First then, it can be made out, I see, that they gave nothing from their treasury. And forsooth the capitol, in the same manner, could be built gratis by workmen who received no wages, when our ancestors put them in requisition. In the next place, I perceive, which I will prove by the depositions of the witnesses, that a great contribution was exacted, and falsely registered to works that never were undertaken. Now we are not to wonder that the Messanians should have a regard for the life of him, whom they knew to have a more tender concern for their welfare, than that of the Roman people, and should refrain from stating his name in their public registers. But if the argument is to stand, that the Messanians did not furnish you with money, because they have it not registered; let also this hold good, that the ship was furnished you gratis, because you have no written memorial to prove how you bought it, or what you laid out. You did not then exact this ship from the Messanians, because they are citizens of an allied city. May heaven add weight to your plea! Here we have a man educated under the eyes of the proclaimers of treaties, and one, above all others,

especially diligent in their religious observance. Let all the prætors who preceded you be delivered up to the Messanians, for having exacted from them a ship contrary to treaty. But why did you, my religious and scrupulous prætor, why did you require one of the inhabitants of Tauromenium,[13] which is also a federal city? Will you prove, that people bound by similar treaties, were subjected to different laws and obligations, without your having recourse to bribery? What if, by referring to the treaties of these two cities, my Lords, I could prove that the Tauromenites were especially exempted from furnishing a ship? That the Messanians were obligated to provide one; that, contrary to compact, he commanded a vessel from the Tauromenites, and not one from the Messanians? Can it be any longer a matter of doubt to any one, that in the prætorship of Verres, the speronara was of more avail to the Messanians, than the treaty to the Tauromenites? Read the treaties.

(Here the treaties of the Messanians and Tauromenites, with the Roman people, are read in court.)

It was then by that service of your's, as you hold out, as the circumstance itself declares, by your accepting a stipulated sum, that you have diminished the authority of the republic, as

well as its resources, provided by the wisdom and courage of our ancestors. You have cancelled the right of government, the condition of our allies, the faith of treaties. Those, who from the articles themselves, were bound to equip an armed vessel for the high seas, if we so prescribed, at their own expense and hazard, purchased from you the ratification of a treaty, whereby it should not even sail in defence of their own port. What trouble and expense do you think the Messanians would not have willingly incurred, to have been exempt from furnishing this bireme by treaty with our ancestors? For when this severe burthen was imposed on Messana, it bore, as it were, the stamp of servitude. That privilege which the citizens were unable to attain in a flourishing condition of the Roman empire, by their then good offices, they have been able to procure for money from C. Verres, though for so many years strictly enforced by the laws of the republic, though in want of a fleet, and though they have displayed no new zeal in our service. But was it merely this that they obtained? I ask, was there a sailor or soldier either for the fleets or garrisons that the Messanians furnished during the three years that you was prætor? In the next place, though it was enacted by the Terentian and Cassian law, that corn should be purchased for a similar

price of all the Sicilian cities, you also excused the Messanians this trivial and common burthen. You will say that the Messanians were not required to furnish corn. How not required? Was it, that they were not to sell it? For their tribute was not from the exacted, but purchased corn.[14] According then to your interpretation of the treaty, the Messanians were not to furnish the Roman markets with provisions. Where then is the city which ought to furnish wheat? Since it is enacted by the censorial law, what the tillers of the public lands are required to remit, why did you exact from them any thing besides? Why were the tything-men required to furnish more than the single tenths prescribed by the Hieronic law? What business had you to decree the quota of purchased corn required? Those who enjoy the privileges of Roman citizens certainly ought not to furnish any. But you not only exacted it of these, but also laid a greater burthen on them than they could endure, by requiring the sixty thousand bushels, from the furnishing of which you exempted the Messanians. I do not say that you did not exact this contribution legally from others; but I say, that it was not lawfully dispensed with from the Messanians, who, like the inhabitants of other cities, were ordered by preceding prætors to supply their quota, and to receive for it

the sum granted by law. And that he might do them this service to some purpose, he takes cognizance of the cause of the Messanians in council, and with that authority declares that he never required from them a supply of corn.

Listen to the decree of the mercenary prætor from his own registered statement, and I leave you to infer what weight there is in the document itself, and in the enaction of the law. Read his prætorial journal.

(Here the decree from the journal of the prætorial administrations is read in court.)

He says he acquiesced *willingly*, and so sets it down. What was the use of this word *willingly?* Are we to imagine that you looked for gain unwillingly? It is added, "*with the opinion of the council.*" You have heard, my Lords, a splendid council mentioned. When the names were read, which did they appear to you to form, a prætor's council, or a club of knaves? Here we have, the interpreters of treaties, the negociators of alliances, the promoters of religion! Never was corn purchased at the public account in Sicily, but what the Messanians were required to supply their share, before he gave them this delectable and honourable council, to take their money from them, and to become like himself. This decree therefore had about as much weight as the enactor ought

to have, who had sold it to those, from whom he was bound to have required a supply of corn. And accordingly L. Metellus, his successor, immediately exacted the usual tribute of the Messanians, through a bill proposed by Sex. Peducæus, and C. Sacerdos. They were then aware that they could no longer hold this privilege, which they had bought of an insecure donor. But come, my good friend, you, who thought yourself so exact an interpreter of treaties, why did you require corn of the Tauromenites, and the Netines,[15] since both belong to federal cities? The Netines indeed were not forgetful of their interest; for as soon as you decreed that you willingly dispensed with the tribute from the Messanians, they came to you, and stated that the same article of treaty would dispense with it from them also. You could not interpret one decree two different ways. You affirm that the Netines ought not to give their tribute, and notwithstanding this, you exact it from them. Hand me over this same prætor's written decrees concerning the exacted and purchased corn.

(Here the registered decrees of the prætor concerning the exacted and purchased corn, are read in court.)

What, my Lords, can we infer from this fluctuating way of proceeding, but what is the

necessary result, that either the Netines refused the money he asked, or that it was so arranged, that the Messanians should understand that they bribed him so effectually, as to prevent others from obtaining similar privileges in a similar suit? Will he now dare to mention the praises lavished on him by the Messanians? And none of you, my Lords, can be insensible of the many wounds he must feel from them. In the first place, he who in a court of judgment cannot name ten approvers of his conduct, it would be more honourable for him, to name none, than be unable to fill up the customary number. Of the many cities that there are in Sicily, which you governed for three years, the rest declare their opinion of you; a few inconsiderable ones, repressed by fear, are silent; one alone praises you. What can we collect from this but the value of real praise, but that you so conducted yourself in your province as to be necessarily bereft of this benefit? In the next place, as I have before stated, what is the value of that praise, since the conferrers of it declared that a ship was built for you at the public expense, and that they were clandestinely robbed by you? Lastly, what do they effect but the assistance of us with their testimony, since none but people from Sicily praise you, for having bestowed on them the plunder of the

republic? What colony or borough is there gifted with such fortunate privileges in Italy, so exempted from burthens of every description, as the city of Messana during your prætorship? That city alone did not contribute what it ought by treaty; that alone, in his prætorship, was free from taxes; that alone enjoyed such immunities, as to give nothing to the Roman people, and deny nothing to Verres.

But to return to the fleet, from which I have digressed. You took a ship from the Messanians contrary to law; you excused them from furnishing one contrary to treaty. You therefore acted twice illegally in one city, in dispensing with what you ought not, and in taking what you ought not. It was your duty to require a ship against the pirates, not to navigate the seas with your plunder on board; which should defend, not rob the province, by new depredations. Messana became the depository of your plunder, and furnished you with a ship to export it. That city was the receptacle of your booty, its inhabitants the witnesses and guardians of it; they furnished at once a storehouse and vehicle for your rapine. At the period when you lost our fleet through your wickedness and avarice, you did not for the above reason, dare to require a vessel of the Messanians; at a time when there was a

scarcity of shipping, and great calamity in the province, a ship could have been obtained from them, even if the request was merely hinted. That fine speronara presented to our prætor, repressed all his energy in government, and the power of requiring a bireme for the service of the republic. That, forsooth, was the reward of his government, his assistance, his observance of good faith, and treaties. You have heard of the loss of the alliance of one city, sold to him for a stipulated sum; listen now to a new system of plunder first devised by him.

It was customary with each city to consign to the captain of the ship it was to furnish, the care of supplying the fleet with corn, payment, and stores. He did not dare to misapply this, for fear of being accused by the sailors, and it was necessary to give a statement of the expenditure to his fellow-citizens. In the management of these concerns, he was subjected to great labour, as well as hazard. This method was always had recourse to, not only in Sicily, but in the other provinces, as well as in the payments of the Roman auxiliaries, when we used to call in their assistance. Verres, when vested with authority, first gave orders that all the money should be counted out to him, by the different cities, and that a person named by him should have charge of the cash. Can it be

questioned by any one, wherefore you broke through the established usage, wherefore you neglected the public advantage in suffering the money to pass through the hands of others, wherefore you undertook a task of such difficulty with crime, of so much trouble, with suspicion? Presently other methods of obtaining lucre are instituted, from one system of naval equipment; and I beg you, my Lords, to mark how many. The acceptance of money from cities to exempt them from furnishing sailors; the dismissal of sailors sent, for a stipulated sum; the defrauding those of their pay, who were sent; the not giving to the rest their due. All these things shall be proved to you, by the depositions of the cities.—Read them.

(Here the depositions of the Sicilian cities are read in court.)

How am I to describe such a man, my Lords? such barefaced audacity? such sums paid by cities in lieu of their quota of troops? The establishment of a fixed price, six hundred sesterces, for the dismissal of sailors? The giver of which was deprived of his sustenance for a whole summer; while Verres was to turn to his own profit what he had received for the payment and support of the sailor! So that a double gain was made by the sending of one man. And these things the maniac did so

openly, that at the moment when the pirates put the province in extreme danger of an attack, they, as well as all Sicily, were witnesses of his proceedings. In consequence of this inordinate avarice, when there was nominally a fleet in Sicily, but in fact nothing but empty hulks, fit for carrying plunder to the prætor, not fear to the pirates, P. Cæsetius, and P. Tadius, notwithstanding, set sail in them half manned, and contrived to lead away rather than capture a certain piratical vessel, absolutely overloaded with its cargo. It was stored with young and beautiful women, embossed plate, and a profusion of carpets. This one ship was not captured by our fleet, but found off Megara, not far from Syracuse. As soon as Verres got intelligence of this, though he lay drunk on the shore among his concubines, he got up, and immediately ordered his guards to tell his quæstor and agent, to display before him all the cargo entire. The ship is brought round to Syracuse, and all expect that the captives will be punished. He, as if some plunder was brought, not as if pirates were captured, classes all the old and deformed among the enemies of the republic, and selects all the artists and handsome individuals, whom he distributes to his scribes, his son, and guards, and sends six musicians as a present to a friend at Rome. The whole night is passed in empty-

ing the vessel; no one saw the piratical captain who by rights ought to have been punished. And all are to this day persuaded, (which you may conjecture was the case) that he took a bribe from the pirates for the rescue of their captain. The conjecture is valid. (No one can be a good judge, who is not moved on secure grounds of suspicion.) You know the character of the man; as well as the usual method of proceeding in cases of this sort; any one capturing a pirate captain or enemy, would most willingly suffer him to be exposed to public view. I saw no man, at Syracuse, my Lords, who affirmed that he beheld this captain of the pirates a prisoner; though a multitude collected, as is usual, demanded, and wished to see him. What happened then to occasion his being concealed with such care, as to prevent him from being seen by any chance? Seafaring people at Syracuse, who had often heard and dreaded his name, who wished to feed their eyes, and saturate their souls with his tortures, had not even the power of beholding him. P. Servilius alone took more chiefs of pirates alive, than all preceding him. When then was any one deprived of that privilege of seeing a pirate who was made prisoner? On the contrary he exhibited to all wherever he went, the agreeable spectacle of enemies in chains. Great multitudes of

people therefore flocked together, not only in the towns through which they were led, but also from the neighbouring country, for the sake of seeing them. Why was that very triumph the most gratifying of all others to the Roman people? Because nothing is more satisfactory than the conquest of pirates; and there is no more certain indication of victory than the witnessing of those led in chains to punishment, who had often inspired fear. Why then did you not do the same? Why was that pirate so concealed as if it was unlawful to see him? Why did you not inflict upon him punishment? Why did you keep the man out of sight? Did you ever hear in Sicily of any captured piratical captain who was not decapitated? You are the first who have done thus. State a similar case. You destined that captain to accompany, I take it, your triumphal car. Nor had you forsooth any expedient left, but the decree of a naval triumph to remunerate you for having lost a beautiful Roman fleet, and for the devastation of a whole province. Well then, it pleased you that the piratical captain should be imprisoned in an unprecedented manner, rather than suffer the customary decapitation. To whom then was he committed? In what sort of dungeon confined? You have all heard of the Syracusan quarries, many of you have seen

them. They are a vast and magnificent work of the kings and tyrants. They are cut in the rock to a prodigious depth, and excavated by immense labour.'[17] Nothing can be imagined so secure, so well adapted for the confinement of prisoners. Public criminals are ordered to be brought from the other Sicilian cities, to be lodged in these quarries. For this reason, he ordered many Roman prisoners, as well as pirates to be thrust into this dungeon. He was aware, that if he confined here this counterfeit piratical captain, the genuine one would be looked for by the populace in those quarries. He therefore did not dare to consign him to this most secure prison. Besides, he dreads all Syracuse. He therefore sends the man elsewhere. Whither? To Lilybæum haply. I see that was his intention; though he does not absolutely stand in awe of seafaring men. He was not sent, my Lords, to Lilybæum. To Panormus then? I hear so; although made prisoner in the Syracusan territory, he ought strictly to have been confined, if not condemned to suffer punishment, at Syracuse. My Lords, not even to Panormus. Where then do you imagine he was sent? Why he was consigned to the Centuripans, a people of all others, kept least in alarm from pirates, remote from all seafaring occupations, an inland tribe, composed of in-

defatigable husbandmen; who never felt apprehension at the name of a pirate, though they shuddered at Apronius,[18] during your prætorship, that terrestrial pirate. And as any one might foresee, that this supposititious captain might pretend to be plausibly the genuine one, he ordered the Centuripans to make a liberal supply of food and necessaries for his use. In the mean time the Syracusans, men of intelligence and acute apprehension, who were not only able to see what was before their eyes, but also could suspect what was secretly managed, took into calculation how many pirates should be decapitated, and how many souls belonged to the captured ship, which they computed from the size of the vessel, and the number of oars. Verres had appropriated to himself those who had any skill in art, or beauty in person. And if he had tied the rest to the stake as was usual, he apprehended that the populace would murmur at seeing that more were produced than kept back. For which reason, though he had determined to produce the others at another opportunity, there was no one in so numerous an assembly, who not only desired the residue, but also incessantly urged a statement of their number.

Since a great number could not be accounted for, that unprincipled wretch began to substi-

tute Roman citizens, whom he had before imprisoned, in the room of the pirates which he had sequestered. Of these, he pretended that some served under Sertorius, and refugees from Spain, had been drifted to Sicily; others, he gave out had commercial dealings with the pirates. Roman citizens therefore, lest they should be recognized, were hurried from prison to the stake, with their faces wrapped in their mantles; some were decapitated, though they were acknowledged by their friends, and defended by all. I shall treat of their cruel and intolerable fate, in the proper place, and I will so treat of it in my invective against his cruelty, that though strength, and even life were to fail me in the narration of the unjustifiable murders of Roman citizens, I shall still think my task honourable and satisfactory. These then are his exploits; this is his brilliant victory: at the capture of a piratical felucca, the captain is set free, and musicians are sent to Rome; artists and beautiful persons are sequestered in his house; Roman citizens are put to the rack, and murdered like enemies, in their room; all the furniture is plundered, all the gold and silver purloined. But how did he inveigle himself, during a former pleading? He, who for so many days had held his tongue, all of a sudden started forward against the testimony of M. Annius, a

most distinguished man, who deposed that he had decapitated a Roman citizen, and not the piratical captain. Worked up to madness by the consciousness of his guilt, he avowed, that because he knew it would be imputed to him as crime, he had taken money for the rescue of the genuine captain, and therefore did not give him over to punishment; he said moreover, that there were two captains in his palace. O the unprecedented clemency, or rather forbearance of the Roman people! Annius, a Roman knight, affirms that a Roman citizen was decapitated. You are struck dumb. He denies that the captain was. You acknowledge the truth of his assertion. Universal murmurs are heard against him; the Roman people, notwithstanding, withheld for that time your punishment, and reserved it for the severity of the judges, when you were to give an account of your measures for their security. How or wherefore did you know, or even suspect that it would be imputed to you as crime? You had no enemy, and if you had, you would not have led such a life as to make you hold it your duty to stand in awe of the tribunals. Was it as is usual, that your conscience made you timid and suspicious? You then, who shuddered when governor, at your crime and trial, convicted by the depositions of so many witnesses, can you now doubt

of your condemnation? But if you dreaded the imputation of having substituted another to be decapitated in lieu of the piratical captain, which do you think will afford you the surest grounds of defence, to be compelled by me to produce in court him, whom you would affirm to be the captain, to people who did not know him personally, or as recently took place, to decapitate him at Syracuse in the eyes of nearly all Sicily, and in the presence of those who knew him? Only mark the difference in whatever you will have recourse to; in the one case, no blame can attach to you; in the other, you can find no defence. The one has been a common method of proceeding with all; the other, I demand, who ever did but you? You have preserved a pirate alive. To what end, since the government was in your hands? Wherefore did you so? with what precedent? why so long? Why, I ask, did you immediately decapitate the Roman citizens, who had been captured by the pirates, and give the latter so long a lease of life? Well then, I will grant that you might do what you pleased, when vested with authority. But as a private person, as an accused one, even in the jaws of damnation, did you retain the captains of our enemies in your house? They remained there one month after another, nearly, in short, for a

whole year, till, through M. Acilius Glabrio, at my request, they were produced, and cast into prison.

Where is the right, the precedent of such an action? Had any private person the power to confine within his own walls, a most persecuting enemy of the Roman people, or rather the common enemy of the human race? What could you have to state in your defence, if the day before you was compelled to confess by me, that a piratical captain lodged with you, while Roman citizens were suffering decapitation; if, I say, he could have contrived to make his escape from your house, and head a band against the Roman people, what could you have to say for yourself? "He lodged with me; I preserved him alive to appear at my trial, that I might the easier wash away the charge of my enemies." A pretty declaration! Will you defend your own danger by the public danger? Will you defer those punishments due to conquered enemies, for your own convenience, not for that of the Roman people? Shall the enemy of the Roman name be consigned to a private prison? Those commanders who are decreed a triumph, and for that reason preserve the conquered chiefs alive longer than they ought, to afford a splendid exhibition to the Roman people, as soon as they begin to wheel round

their car from the forum to the capitol, order them to be consigned to prison. And the same day seals the destinies of the conquerors, and the conquered. And forsooth any one may doubt whether you would not rather have decapitated the piratical captain, than preserved him alive to your own hazard, (especially as you had determined, as you say, to try him in your own presence.) For I demand, if he had been killed, how could you prove to any one the crime, which you say you apprehended would be imputed to you? When it is proved that the piratical captain was seen at Syracuse by no one, though demanded by all; when no one doubted, that he was released by you for a stipulated sum; when public rumour gave out, that another was supplanted in his room, whom you wished to pass for the real one; when you yourself confessed that you dreaded that imputation before; if you affirmed that he was dead, who would listen to you? Now in producing some substitute, would you also wish that that should obtain belief? What if he had escaped, if he had broken his chains, as the celebrated pirate Nico did, whom P. Servilius was as fortunate in recovering, as he was in capturing? What would you say? But this circumstance took place. If the genuine piratical captain had been decapitated, you would

not be in possession of that money. If the false one was dead, or had effected his escape, it would not be difficult to supplant another in his room. I have expatiated more than I wished, concerning this piratical chief; but, notwithstanding, have omitted the strongest arguments of your guilt. I wish to preserve this topic entire. This is reserved for another opportunity, when you will be fully convicted under a particular statute, before another tribunal.

Enriched as he was by the plunder of so many effects from so many free cities, he exhibited equal diligence in the equipment of fleets, and the levying and sustenance of troops, not only for the security of the province, but also for the embezzlement of booty. For in the height of summer, when other prætors were wont to go round the province, and be actively employed in naval manœuvres, to inspire alarm in the corsairs, he was not content with gratifying his lust in the palace which belonged to king Hiero, and which the prætors usually inhabit, but he pitched upon the shore tents lined with fine linen, during the summer, as I have before stated, in that part of Ortygia, behind the fountain of Arethusa, immediately at the entrance of the port, a delicious and sequestered situation.[19] In this spot a Roman

prætor, to whose charge a province was committed, so passed sixty summer days, in the entertainment of harlots, that no man but himself and his son, a mere youth, I affirm, without exception, no one had access to him. Sometimes indeed his agent Timarchides was admitted. There were also married women of good family, besides the daughter of Isidorus the comedian, whom he procured for the gratification of his lust, from a Rhodian musician; there was also one Pippa, the wife of Æschrion, a Syracusan, and Nicè, with beautiful features, who was given out to be the wife of Cleomenes of Syracuse. Many verses lampooning his affection for Pippa, are celebrated in all Sicily. Cleomenes was fond of Nicè, but he was unable and dared not oppose the passion of Verres for her. He was accordingly suborned by numerous presents. Notwithstanding his insolence, at that period he could not make up to Nicè, with that facility he wished, while her husband remained at Syracuse, nor have her with him for days together on the beach. He therefore gives to Cleomenes the command of the ships, which a lieutenant commanded. Mark his expedient. He orders a Syracusan to command a fleet of the Roman people. Which he did, not only to remove him from his home, but also to absent him on honourable service, thinking that if he could

get rid of him as a rival, he might have access to Nicé with rather less difficulty. And where is the person who could ever oppose the passions of Verres? Cleomenes then is named to a ship of the allies. How, my Lords, am I to begin my accusation and complaints? Is a Sicilian to have the prerogatives of a lieutenant and quæstor, together with the honours and power of a prætor? If your occupations, Verres, in entertaining women were an obstacle to you, where are the quæstors, where the lieutenants, the mules, the tents, the corn distributed at three-pence per pound? Where, the numerous perquisites granted by government to the magistrates and lieutenants? Where, in fine, are your prefects and tribunes? If no Roman citizen was deemed fit for these employments, was there no one to be found in the federal cities? Where are the cities of Segesta and Centuripe, so bound by every tie to the Roman people? O ye immortal gods! if the Syracusan Cleomenes is named to command the captains, ships, and marines of these cities, is not all honour due to equity, propriety, and duty, taken away by Verres? Did we ever carry on war in Sicily, without calling to our aid the Centuripan allies, who were enemies to the Syracusans? I commemorate these things out of respect for established custom, not for promoting jealousies of

cities. For which reason that excellent general M. Marcellus, through whose valour Syracuse was captured and preserved, permitted no Syracusan to inhabit Ortygia; which is continued to this day. It is a place which a handful of men can defend. He therefore consigned the defence of it to his most trusty soldiers, as that part of the city is accessible to ships. He therefore did not think proper to commit the principal fortress to the charge of those who had often prevented our army from entering. Mark the difference between your lust, and the authority of our ancestors; between your ungovernable appetite, and their discretion. They cut off all approach to the Syracusan shores; you conceded a maritime command to a native; they would not allow a Syracusan to inhabit a spot accessible to ships; you vested one with the command of a whole fleet; you allowed those to share with us a command, who were exempted by them to inhabit a quarter of the city; and by the assistance of those allies, whose commands the Syracusans obeyed, those very allies, you ordered to be subservient to the dictates of the Syracusans.

The Centuripan quadrireme sails from port, with its admiral Cleomenes on board. It is followed by the ships of Segesta, of Tyndaris, of Herbita, of Heraclea, [20] of Apollonia, of Alun-

tium, splendid indeed in appearance, but weak from the dismissal of the rowers and marines. As long as our diligent prætor continued his scandalous revels, so long did he see the fleet at his nod. Not having exhibited his person for many days, he deigned to gratify the sailors with a view of it for a while. A Roman prætor, my Lords, was seen to stand upon the beach at Syracuse, reclining on the arm of his mistress, sandaled, and clothed in a purple robe reaching to his heels. Many Romans as well as Sicilians have often seen him thus attired. After the fleet had made a little way, and was drifted towards Pachynus, [21] the sailors impelled by hunger, pulled up the roots of the dwarf palms which grow in abundance throughout Sicily, and with this wretched food the unhappy men were forced to content themselves. [22] But Cleomenes, who fancied himself another Verres, both in profligacy and authority, got dead drunk for whole days together in a tent upon the beach. But lo! on a sudden, while Cleomenes was in liquor, and the rest perishing with hunger, news arrives of piratical vessels being moored in the port of Edissa, [23] for so that place is named. Our fleet was in the port of Pachynus. As there was a garrison of soldiers at hand, not indeed effective, Cleomenes hoped to be able to fill up with drafts his complement of sailors. In

effecting this, he had recourse to the same avaricious method as in the equipment of the fleet. For the residue was small, and the others were dismissed. Cleomenes, the admiral, orders the rigging of the Centuripan quadrireme to be put in order, and the anchor to be weighed. He made a signal for the rest of the ships to follow. This Centuripan vessel was an excellent sailor. No one knew the qualities of any ship during the prætorship of Verres. Though in this quadrireme, out of compliment to Cleomenes, but few sailors and marines were wanting. The quadrireme had scudded out of sight with inconceivable rapidity, before the other vessels had left their moorings. The crews of the other ships had spirit and heart left. Though few in number, notwithstanding their plight, they gave out that they were willing to fight, and sell as dearly as possible, the few sparks of life which their hunger had left. And if Cleomenes had not been so much ahead, there would have been some chance of making an effectual resistance. The admiral's ship was the only one decked, and so large, that it might have proved a protection to the others. And had it come into action, it would have been a city as it were, among those piratical feluccas. Deserted then by the admiral, they began to steer the same course. Like Cleomenes, they made for

Elorus. They did not so much fly from the pirates, as pursue their admiral. And as each was most in the rear, so was he the more exposed to danger. For the pirates attacked each rearmost vessel in its turn. The ship of Aluntium strikes first; her captain was Pilarchus, a nobleman of that city; whom the Locrians afterwards redeemed from the pirates. In a former pleading you heard the circumstances from him upon oath. The ship of Apollonia strikes next, and her captain, Anthropinus, is killed. While these transactions are taking place, Cleomenes had touched and landed at Elorus, while he left his quadrireme floating at large. The other captains made after him, since the admiral had landed, and they were unable to fight, or escape from the pirates. Presently the piratical captain, Heracleo, who had gained the victory contrary to his expectations, not through his own valour, but the avarice and wickedness of Verres, as evening approached, ordered a splendid fleet of the Roman people, which lay wrecked on the shore, to be burnt to ashes.

O the bitter and afflicting moment for the province of Sicily! O the catastrophe pregnant with calamity to so many innocent men! O the unprecedented turpitude of Verres! One and the same night consumed a prætor with the

vilest lust, and a Roman fleet with fire! In the dead of the night, the bearer of the bad tidings arrives at Syracuse; he runs to the prætorial palace, where courtezans a little before, had brought back the prætor from his revels, attended by vocal and instrumental musicians. Cleomenes, though it was night, dared not shew himself in public, but he shut himself up, nor had his wife access to him, to console her husband in affliction. So strict was the discipline observed in the palace of our illustrious prætor, that in a case of such importance, no one was admitted into his presence, no one, who dared to disturb his slumbers, or interrupt him when up. As soon as the circumstance was made known, great multitudes of people flocked together, from all parts of the city. For the approach of the pirates was not signified to them in the customary manner, not by signals placed on an eminence, nor by lights suspended from the towers; but their calamity and danger was made known by the blaze itself of the whole navy in flames![24]

As the prætor was inquired for, and it appeared that no one had related what had happened, a great concourse of people attack the palace with a loud noise. He at last goes out, and hears the whole affair from Timarchides. He puts on his cloak, and about dawn, sallies

forth stupified with wine, lust, and sleep. He is assailed with universal murmurs, so that the counterpart of the danger which he incurred at Lampsacum,[25] might appear to have been transacted before him. This probably appeared the more terrible, for here was a greater concourse of people impelled by similar hatred of Verres. His deeds and flagitious revels were then the subject of animadversion; his concubines were called by name from the crowd; he was then publicly asked what he had been doing, where he had been for so many days together, that no one could even get a sight of him; then Cleomenes, who had been appointed by him as admiral, was demanded; and nothing was nearer taking place, than the transferring of the example made of Hadrian at Utica, to Syracuse, by erecting two monuments of two vile prætors in two provinces.[26] The mob nevertheless took into account the crisis, the disorder, and their respect for public opinion; for the populace at Syracuse consists of Roman citizens, who are much looked up to, not merely in the province, but throughout the republic. While Verres was stupified with drowsiness, they encourage one another, take up arms, and occupy the forum and the island, which forms a considerable portion of the city. The pirates as they tarried at Elorus for that one night, while they

left our ships smoking, took measures to attack Syracuse. They had often heard that nothing is more beautiful than the harbour and buildings of Syracuse, and had established it as an axiom, that they would never be able to see them, except while Verres was prætor.

Their first step was to approach that part of the shore where our renowned prætor had pitched his summer tents for the gratification of luxury. As soon as they found the spot deserted, and had discovered that the prætor had struck his tents, they fearlessly began to enter the harbour itself. When I say the harbour, my Lords, (for I must be accurate in my statement to those who are ignorant of the situation,) I mean, that the pirates entered the city, the very interior of the city. For the town is not shut in by the port, but the port is surrounded by the city; not that the outer walls are washed by the sea, but the sea flows into the very bosom of the city.[27] Here then, in your prætorship, the piratical captain, Heracleo, navigated at his leisure in paltry feluccas. What! in the name of heaven! Is it possible that a piratical vessel could penetrate into the forum and every crevice of that city which was the seat of the Roman government? which neither the powerful fleets of the Carthaginians, though they had made frequent attempts during

numerous wars, could ever effect; wherein neither the invincible Roman navies could ever penetrate before you was prætor, during the course of so many Punic and Sicilian wars. The place is so fortified, that the Syracusans would sooner expect to see an armed force within their walls, than a single hostile ship in the interior of their port. The small craft of pirates here sailed while you was prætor, where the Athenian navy alone, consisting of three hundred ships, was able to force an entrance in the memory of man; and which was afterwards subdued by the advantageous site of the port itself. There, for the first time, the resources of that city were diminished and kept under; there it was that a wreck of the Athenian glory, empire, and reputation, was believed to have been made. Was it then here that a pirate could penetrate, and not only leave the city to his right, but have it absolutely in his rear? Ortygia, a considerable portion of Syracuse, was sailed by; where, as I have said before, no Syracusan was permitted to live, for those who garrisoned that quarter, were believed to have the whole port at their beck. And in what manner did they scour the harbour? Why they displayed the roots of the dwarf-palms, which they discovered in our ships, for all Syracuse to witness the calamity of Sicily, and the villany

of the prætor. Was it for Sicilian troops, the sons of husbandmen, whose fathers cultivated so much corn, themselves born in the island of Ceres, where the use of corn was first discovered; was it for them, I say, whose fathers supplied the Roman people with grain, to have recourse to that food which their ancestors discarded after the introduction of the use of wheat? In your prætorship, Sicilian troops were nourished with the roots of palms, while pirates were devouring corn! O the afflicting, the heart-rending spectacle! The glory of Syracuse and honour of the Roman name to be turned to scorn in the presence of a great multitude! A pirate in an insignificant boat to triumph over the Roman fleets in the harbour of Syracuse! While the oars of the free-booters dashed the spray in the eyes of the abominable and indolent prætor! After they had departed, not through fear, but satiety, people began to inquire into the cause of so great a calamity. They openly avowed that there was no room for wondering at such a catastrophe, if the sailors and marines were dismissed, and the residue left to perish with hunger, while the prætor got drunk with his concubines. This blame and infamy was further corroborated by those who had been appointed severally to the ships by each city; and by those who of that

number had been left, and fled to Syracuse, when they heard of the loss of the fleet. They named those sailors whom they knew to have been dismissed from their respective ships. The case was manifest; and not only proved by argument, but also by faithful witnesses of the avarice of Verres.

The man is himself informed that nothing occurs in the forum and assemblies, but questions relative to the loss of the fleet, put to the captains; who answer individually, that it was in consequence of the dismissal of the rowers, the famine of those who were left on board, and the cowardly flight of Cleomenes. As soon as he heard of this, he devised the following scheme. He had determined to plead his own cause, before he could benefit himself from so doing, as you have heard him state in a former accusation. He saw it was impossible to support the conviction of so great a crime in the presence of the captains who were witnesses of it. He adopts a foolish but gentle mode of proceeding. He orders Cleomenes and the captains to be summoned in his presence. They come. He accuses them of holding out language of this sort against him, beseeches them to desist, and to say that they had each their quota of sailors, and that none were dismissed. They make shew that they will act according to his

pleasure. He delays no longer convoking his friends, and demands individually how many sailors they each had. Each answers according as it was prescribed. The provident man has the answers registered, and sealed with his friend's seals; that he might make use of their depositions, if necessary at any time, in answer to this charge. I suspect the madman was laughed to scorn by his advisers, and warned that these registers would have no weight, that they would even tell against him by creating suspicion from the pains he had taken with them. He frequently had recourse to this foolish expedient before, so as to give public orders to have what he pleased cancelled or registered in the archives of the cities. He now discovers that this plan is of no avail, since he is convicted by the testimonies of faithful registers and witnesses. When he sees that their confession, and his own declaration from his fabricated registers are of no advantage, he adopts the expedient (not of a detestable prætor, for that was to be endured) but of an importunate and frantic tyrant. He determined then, with the view of extenuating his crime, (for he did not imagine it could be wholly done away,) to put to death all the captains who were witnesses of his offence. This method of reasoning was suggested to him: "What can be done

with Cleomenes? Can I punish those who acted under his orders? Can I pass him over whom I vested with the supreme command? Can I inflict punishment on his followers? Can I forgive Cleomenes who ordered them to follow him in his flight? Can I be severe towards those who not only had empty ships, but also without decks? Can I overlook him who alone had a decked vessel, and better manned than the others? Let then Cleomenes suffer death too." If so, where is his faith, where his protestations, his right hand pledged, his embraces? Where that female military mess on that effeminate shore? He cannot possibly act otherwise than spare Cleomenes.

He summons Cleomenes, and tells him he is determined to punish all the captains, and demands an account of the danger he had incurred. "I will spare you alone," he says, "and will bear the imputation of cowardice and blame myself, sooner than be cruel towards you, and suffer so many respectable witnesses of my misdeeds to escape alive." Cleomenes returns thanks, and approves the design: he says it ought to be so. He nevertheless cautions him, not to animadvert on Phalargus, captain of the Centuripan quadrireme, (which circumstance had escaped him,) because he was with him in

the Centuripan vessel. "What," he says, "shall that respectable young man remain, belonging to that city, to make his deposition against me?" "It will be better for the present," said Cleomenes; "we will look to that matter hereafter, if he should happen to be in your way."

As soon as these things are arranged, he starts forth from the prætorial palace inflamed with crime, madness, and cruelty. He goes to the forum, and orders the captains to be summoned. They, apprehensive of nothing, immediately attend. He orders the unhappy and innocent men to be put in irons. They implored the prætor's protection, and demanded why they were thus treated. He replies, because they had surrendered their ships to the pirates. The populace murmur, and are astonished at the man's audacity in attributing the cause of the calamity to others, which, it was obvious to all, originated in his own avarice; or that he, who might be deemed an ally of the pirates, should tax others with the crime of treason; and lastly, that on the fifteenth day after the fleet had been lost, he should lay this to their charge. While these things were transacting, people inquired, "Where is Cleomenes?" Not that any one thought he should suffer punishment of any description, on account of his disaster. For what could Cleomenes do? (I

cannot, my Lords, lay a false accusation on any body;) what could Cleomenes do effectively with ships dismantled through the avarice of the prætor? They see him sit by the prætor and whisper, as was usual, familiarly in his ear. It then appeared quite scandalous to all, that honourable men named respectively by the cities to their ships, should be thrown in chains into prison; while Cleomenes, on account of his similar flagitious conduct, remained on the best terms with the prætor. One Nævius Turpio is named for the accusation of these captains, who in the prætorship of C. Sacerdos, was condemned for an assault, a very proper person for seconding his insolence, who was his emissary and agent in the monopoly of tithes, in impeachments for capital offences, and in every species of fraudulent transactions.

The parents and relations of the unhappy young men arrive at Syracuse much affected at the sudden news of the calamity which had befallen them. They behold their children bound in chains, and bearing on their necks the punishment due to that wretch's avarice. They are present, Verres; they defend their cause, and speak for them, in your presence; they implore your protection, which was never afforded to any one. The father of one of them, Dexio, of Tyndaris, a nobleman who enter-

tained you at his house, and whom you called your friend, was present. When you saw him, a man of authority bending under the weight of his affliction, could not his tears, his age, the rights and title of friendship, tear you away from crime to the exercise of a small degree of humanity? But why am I putting this unnatural wretch in mind of the duties of friendship? He who stripped the house of Sthenius, of Thermæ, his host, set down his name among the accused, and without instituting a trial, condemned him capitally? Must we look for the duties of friendship in such a man! Have we to do with a cruel person, or a wild and ferocious beast? Could not the tears shed by the father for the danger of his innocent son, touch you with compassion? When you had left the father at home, and had the son in your possession, could not the one who was absent remind you of indulgence to a father, and the other, who was present, of the dearness of children? Your friend, Aristeus, son of Dexio, was in chains. And why? He had struck his ship. Why this retribution? He had deserted his crew. But what was to become of Cleomenes? For he had been negligent. But you had presented him with a golden crown to remunerate his valour. He had dismissed the sailors. You had received money from all for their dis-

missal. There was another parent who attended; Eubulides, of Herbita, a distinguished member of his family, who, because he had injured Cleomenes in defending his own son, was almost stripped of his property. What had any one to say in his defence? He was not allowed to name Cleomenes. But the cause is urgent. You shall die if you are appealed to. He never used moderate threats to any one. But the rowers were not present. Do you dare accuse the prætor? You had better break your own neck. What could be done since it was neither allowable to appeal to the prætor, or the prætor's rival, though the whole cause rested with these two. What then is to take place? Heraclius, of Segesta, a leading member of his family, also pleads his cause. Pay attention, my Lords, for your humanity demands it. You shall hear the grievances which our allies have suffered. Know that this Heraclius was also tried, who could not embark on account of a disorder in his eyes, and was ordered to remain at Syracuse by him, who had the supreme command, with the provisions for the fleet. Certainly he neither surrendered his ship, nor did he fly through cowardice, nor did he desert his crew. For this was remarked when the fleet sailed from Syracuse. He was nevertheless implicated in the same charge, as if apprehended in manifest

guilt, he, on whom not even the pretext of criminality could fall. There was one Furius, of Heraclea, among those captains, (for sometimes Latin names designate the Sicilians,) a man much respected not only as long as he lived, but after death, in his own family, and throughout Sicily. This man had such spirit, that he not only would use his endeavours to injure Verres, for since he saw he was to suffer death, he knew he could do it without danger, but with death before his eyes, when his weeping mother sat beside him night and day in prison, he wrote his defence, which every body in Sicily has in his possession, and reads, and takes warning from that memoir, of your detestable cruelty. In this, he states how many sailors he received from his city, how many, and for what sum, he dismissed, how many he retained; and the same of the other ships. When he stated these things to you, his eyes were smitten with rods. As death was before him, he bore his pain with firmness, and exclaimed in these words, which he has left in his written document: "*That it was a scandalous crime, that an immodest woman should have more influence with you in procuring the salvation of Cleomenes, than the tears of his mother in the sparing of his own life.*" I perceive besides another thing written, and if the Roman people are sufficiently aware of your character,

he did not prophesy falsely concerning you at his death.

"*Verres cannot wipe away his guilt by the murdering of witnesses; I shall be a more terrible witness against him hereafter, than if I be brought alive to a seat of justice; if I live, I can only convict you of avarice; if I die, I can depose against you for cruelty, wickedness, and audacity.*" Then follow these memorable words: "*When your trial takes place, not only crowds of witnesses, but the punishment of innocent people, together with the furies, will denounce you from the shades below. My punishment I consider light, though the countenance of your butcher Sestius, and the edges of your axes are before me, when compared with the execution of Roman citizens by your orders.*" No more, my Lords. He abused that liberty which you granted to our allies, and inflicted on them the bitterest punishments of the most degraded slaves.

He condemns them all with the opinion of his council. He did not however in so important a case, and in the trial of so many citizens, summon P. Vettius, the quæstor, to assist him with his advice; nor P. Cervius, a man of such consequence, an ambassador, and who, because he was such, was first excluded from the court by him; but he condemns them all by the votes of his associates, or, which is the same,

his villains. Upon this, all the Sicilians, our faithful and old friends, attached to us through the kindness of our ancestors, are greatly troubled at the hazard to which themselves and their fortunes are exposed. The humane proceedings of our government to be turned into such inhumanity! so many innocent men to be condemned! A vile prætor to veil his thefts by the shameful death of innocent people! Wickedness, madness, and cruelty, cannot appear to be carried further, my Lords, in troth, they cannot. He will be found, upon comparison, to surpass in crime infinitely every one else. But he contends with himself; he so acts, that his last crime will be found always worse than the preceding. I have stated that Phalargus, the Centuripan, was excepted by Cleomenes, because he was in the same quadrireme with him; the young man nevertheless had cause to fear, for he saw that his case was similar to that of those who were condemned unjustly. Timarchides has an interview with him, and tells him he need not be apprehensive of being decapitated, and cautions him to beware of not being condemned to be flogged. In short, you have heard the young man himself declare, that for fear of being publicly whipped, he gave a sum of money to Timarchides. These are the trivial offences of the accused. The captain of a

splendid city removed the fear of a flogging by paying a sum of money. This is a mark of his humanity. Another gave a sum not to be condemned. This is a usual way with him. The Roman people do not want to tax Verres with old-fashioned crimes. They demand to hear of new and unprecedented offences; they think not that a Sicilian prætor stands arraigned at the bar, but a blood-thirsty tyrant. The condemned captains are thrown into prison. Punishment is decreed, not only on them, but their wretched parents, who are prohibited approaching them, to furnish them with food or necessaries. These fathers whom you see before you, lay at the threshold; these unhappy mothers passed the whole night at the prison-gates, prevented from embracing their children for the last time. They besought nothing else but to receive the parting breath of their offspring. The lictor Sestius, who was the jailer, and butcher of the prætor, the death and terror of our allies, was there. His pay was estimated by the groans and distresses of all. "For admittance you must pay so much," he cries; "and so much for the introduction of food." No one refused what he asked. "What will you give me for dispatching your son with one blow of the axe? that he should not be put to the torture? that he should not die in agonies?"

And money was paid to this lictor for compliance with these demands. O their unhappy destiny! O their insupportable agonies! Parents were compelled to pay not for the liberation of their children, but for their speedy execution. And the young men themselves bargained with Sestius for one stripe, and blow of the axe. And the children supplicated their parents that money should be given to the lictor for the mitigation of their torments. Severe torments were applied to the parents, and severe ones to their relatives. But death must put an end to their sufferings—not so. Can cruelty be carried further? A scheme will be devised. For the children as soon as dead, will have their bodies thrown to wild beasts. And if the parent is affected at this, he must pay to be empowered to bury them. You have heard Onasus, of Segesta, a nobleman, depose, that for the interment of the captain Heraclius, he paid a sum to Timarchides. A man of the first rank declares the truth of this, so do not come forward with the plea that the fathers came angry to you in consequence of the loss of their sons; he avers it, nor does he make mention of his own son. Was there any one at Syracuse that did not hear and know that compacts for burial were entered into by Timarchides and the condemned? Did they not confer with him in

public? Were not all their relations applied to? Were not the funerals of their living children settled? When every thing was ratified and settled, they are dragged forth from prison, and tied to the stake. Who was so callous, so inexorable, but you alone, as not to be affected at their misery, age, and condition? Was there any one who could refrain from tears? who did not think that the calamity came home to them, and that the fortune of all was endangered? They are decapitated. You exult and triumph in their groans; you rejoice that the witnesses of your avarice are out of the way. You was mistaken, Verres, you was vehemently mistaken, if you imagined that the spots of your depredations and iniquities could be washed out by the blood of our innocent friends. You was hurried headlong by phrenzy, in thinking that the wounds occasioned by your avarice, could be healed by your cruel proscriptions. For although the witnesses of your crimes are no more, their relations will be neither wanting to you or to them. And some of the captains are yet living, whom fortune seems to have preserved for this trial, and rescued from the punishment inflicted on the undeserving. Philargus, of Aluntium, is present, who, because he did not escape with Cleomenes, was subdued by the pirates, and made prisoner; but his cala-

mity proved his security: for if he had not been taken by the pirates, he would have fallen into the hands of this pirate of our allies. He will bear witness to the dismissal of the sailors, to their famine, to the flight of Cleomenes. Phalargus, of Centuripe, is also present, a native of a considerable city. He affirms the same, and no way differs.

In the name of heaven, my Lords, can you keep your seats with patience? Can you endure to hear of these things? Do I shew my weakness in grieving more than I ought for the affliction of our allies? Do not these dire tortures and calamities of innocent people affect you equally with myself? For when I affirm that natives of Herbita and Heraclea were decapitated, the atrocity of their execution appears before my eyes. Was it then for those people, the heirs of those lands which furnished annually Rome with a vast supply of corn, the fruit of their labours, who were educated by their parents in the hopes of our protection; was it for them to be reserved for the inhumanity and bloody axe of Caius Verres? As often as I think of that Tyndarite, and Segestan, so often do I remember the rights, and good offices of those cities to the republic. The cities which Publius Africanus deemed fit to be ornamented with the spoils of our enemies, not only

has C. Verres stripped of those ornaments, but also of their most valuable citizens, through his abominable wickedness.

Behold the voluntary declaration of the Tyndarites: "*We are classed among the seventeen Sicilian cities; in all the Punic and Sicilian wars, we have uniformly sided with Rome; by us the Roman people have always been assisted in time of war, and supplied with luxuries in peace.*"

Forsooth their rights had much weight with him when prætor.

Scipio formerly headed your sailors against Carthage; but now Cleomenes commands half manned vessels against the pirates. Africanus shared with you the spoils of the enemy; but now you are accounted as enemies, robbed by me;[28] and your ship is captured by the pirates. But what besides? These things are not only related, and inscribed in the archives of the Segestans, but their alliance with Rome is attested and confirmed by their good offices. And what is the reward of their fidelity in the prætorship of Verres? This, my Lords; that a young nobleman should be forced from the bosom of his father, that an innocent son should be torn from the embraces of his mother, and given over to that butcher Sestius. That city, to which our ancestors made considerable grants of rich lands, which they willed should remain

in the enjoyment of its own laws, could not even effect the salvation of one innocent citizen by the authority of its antiquity, alliance, and friendship with the republic. Whither shall our allies betake themselves? Whom shall they implore? What hopes can they entertain of enjoying life if you desert them? Shall they come before the senate to require Verres to be punished? It is not usual, it is not senatorial. Shall they betake themselves to the Roman people? A trial is easily procured from them. They will say that they ordered a law to be passed for the protection of the allies, and named you as the guardians and executors of that law.

This then is the only place to which they can fly. This is the harbour, this the bulwark, this the altar of our allies; but they have not recourse to it as heretofore, when they used to reclaim lost property. They demand not a restoration of plate, of garments, of slaves, nor of the ornaments taken from their temples. Rash men are apprehensive of these concessions being granted by the Roman people. For we have endured with patience for many years, a few individuals monopolizing the wealth of nations, and we appear the more to overlook these outrages, since no one of them veils his misdeeds, since no one strives to conceal his cupidity. In

our beautiful and highly ornamented city, what picture, what statue is there which was not plundered from our vanquished enemies? But the villas of our prætors are filled with the choicest ornaments of our most faithful allies. What do you think is become of the wealth of foreign nations, which they all now stand in want of, since you behold Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicus, Miletus, Chios, Samos, in short all Asia, Achaia, Greece, and Sicily, hid in a few villas? But of all these things, my Lords, as I have stated, your allies take now no heed. They have taken care by shewing good offices and fidelity, not to be robbed publicly of them by the Roman people. If they could not make an effectual resistance to the avarice of a few, they were able in some measure to compensate for it. But now all power is taken away, not only of resisting, but of making up the deficiency. They therefore neglect their affairs. They do not seek reparation for their losses at that place, which is called a seat of judgment. They absolutely disregard them; and in this *prosperous* condition they fly to you for succour. Attend to, my Lords, attend to the wretched plight of our allies. Here is Sthenius, a Thermitan, with dishevelled hair, and tattered vest; though his whole house has been stripped, he makes no mention of your thefts; he seeks protection for

his person, and nothing more. In consequence of your rapacious and cruel disposition, he is expelled his country, in which he held a distinguished rank by his good conduct and pre-eminent merit. Here is Dexio; he does not demand the restoration of the property which you stole privately from himself, and publicly from the city of Tyndaris, but he demands his only, excellent, and innocent son. He does not hope to carry back a compensation in damages for his lost property, but some consolation in your punishment, to the shade and ashes of his offspring. Here is the venerable Eubulides; who did not so late in life undertake this fatiguing journey to recover something of his property, but that he might see you condemned with those very eyes, wherewith he beheld gouts of blood dropping from the neck of his son!

Had L. Metellus[29] permitted it, my Lords, their wives and sisters would have been present. One of them, on my arrival at Heraclea by night, met me, attended by all the matrons of that city, and numerous torch-bearers, calling me her salvation, and Verres her butcher; she fell in a swoon at my feet, exclaiming the name of her son, as if it had been possible for me to raise him from the dead. The elder matrons did the same in the other cities, as well as the

little children of the deceased; and they all implored my labour and assistance as well as the proofs of your attachment, and compassion. In consequence, my Lords, Sicily complained to me of this, rather than of his other iniquities. I was induced to take up their cause by tears, rather than the hope of reaping glory.

Let not a groundless conviction, let not a dungeon, let not chains, nor axes, let not the tortures of our allies, let not the innocent blood, nor the cold bodies after death, let not the anguish of their parents and relations be turned to the gain of our magistrates! If, my Lords, by his condemnation, through your just severity, I shall have removed the fears of all Sicily, I shall think I have done my duty, and fulfilled the wishes of those who have requested my exertions in their behalf.

If then you can find any one who wishes to defend your criminality in this naval transaction, let him use this argument: let him omit those common topics which have nothing to do with the cause itself; let him say, that I laid ill fortune to your charge, and called your calamity crime; that I taxed you with the loss of the fleet, which had often befallen good commanders in the uncertainty of warfare both by sea and land. I do not lay misfortune to your charge. You will gain no advantage by stating

that other expeditions have been less successful; nothing, by collecting the wrecks of others' fortune. I affirm, that the ships were not manned, that the rowers and sailors were dismissed, that the residue lived on the roots of dwarf-palms, that a Sicilian commanded a Roman fleet, a Syracusan, our allies; I say, that during that time, and the preceding days, you was getting drunk with your concubines upon the beach. And I can produce witnesses of all these things. Do I then appear to insult you in calamity, to shut out a refuge for you in distress; do I lay to your charge the chances of war? Those notwithstanding who have committed themselves to fortune, and are accustomed to its varieties, are unwilling to have their luck laid to their charge. Fortune had nothing to do with your calamity. Generals are wont to try the fortune of war in battle, not in revels. We may safely say, that Venus, and not Mars, occasioned that catastrophe. Since fortune ought not to be laid to your charge, why did you not overlook and forgive the bad fortune of these innocent captains? But let it be allowed that you are not amenable, that you are not to be taxed with crime by me, because you decreed to decapitate the captains, pursuant to the laws of our ancestors. My accusation does not turn upon the punishment; I

do not say that no one should have lost his head; I do not affirm that the severity of our laws, the punishment of offences, and the fear of our military, should be done away; I confess that severe punishment is often essential not only for our allies, but also for our citizens and troops. You may therefore pass this over. I affirm that the fault was not in the captains, but in yourself. I am able to prove that you dismissed the sailors and marines for a bribe. The remaining captains declare this; the federal city of Neætum declares it, the cities of Herbita, of Mytistratum, [30] of Enna, of Agyrium, of Tyndaris, declare it; your own witness, your own admiral, your friend Cleomenes, declares that he landed at Pachynus, and drafted soldiers from the garrison to serve on board the fleet; which he certainly would not have done, if he had had his complement. For such is the method observed in the full equipment of the fleet, that there is not only no room for many, but none for individuals. I affirm besides, that those remaining sailors perished through hunger; I affirm that no blame could attach to any, except him, who had the chief command, the best ship, and the most sailors, and that if all the captains were in fault, that Cleomenes ought not to have been constituted the spectator of their distress and punishment. I affirm, besides,

that a price for tears, for stripes, for wounds, for burial, was unlawfully fixed upon. Wherefore if you please to reply in your defence, speak thus: that the fleet was fully equipped, that no marine was absent, that there were no vacant benches of oars, that the rowers were supplied with corn, that the captains lie, that so many respectable cities lie, that all Sicily lies; that you was betrayed by Cleomenes, who said that he landed at Pachynus to procure drafts of soldiers; that spirit was wanting to the forces, not resources; that Cleomenes while smartly engaged, was deserted by the others; that no money was given for the burials. And if you declare these things, you shall notwithstanding be convicted; and if you have recourse to other pleas, you will still not be able to refute my charges. Will you dare now to hold this forth, "*My friend is among the judges, that fatherly friend of mine is present?*" Would he, however intimate with you, not be highly ashamed of your guilt in this transaction?" "He is your fatherly friend." If your father himself was to try you, what, in the name of heaven, could you say for yourself? "Did you, Verres, when a Roman prætor, in the administration of a naval war, excuse for three whole years, the Messanians from furnishing that ship, which they ought to have provided according to treaty? Was a large spero-

nara built by them, for your private use, at the public expense? Did you raise money from the cities, with the pretext of equipping a fleet? Did you dismiss the sailors on receiving a stipulated sum? When a piratical ship was taken by your quæstor, and lieutenant, did you sequester in your house the captain from public view? Could you decapitate those who were called Roman citizens, and who were recognized as such by many? Did you lead away the pirates to your house, and produce their captain before a seat of judgment? Did you in so splendid a province, in the presence of our most faithful allies, when the greatest danger impended, lie banqueting upon the beach for whole days together? Could no one then have access to you in your palace, no one see you in the forum? Did you invite female heads of families to those festivals of your friends, and associates? Did you seat your son, a mere youth, my grandson, [31] among those concubines, to instil into him, at that age, the desire of imitating the profligacy, and corruption of his father? Was you, a prætor of a province, seen attired in purple robes reaching to your heels? Did you for the gratification of your lust, delegate the command of vessels to a Syracusan, instead of an officer of the Roman people? Were your troops left destitute of corn, in the province of Sicily? Through

your dissolute conduct and avarice, has a fleet of the Roman people been captured and burnt? From the period of the foundation of Syracuse, what enemy was ever seen in its harbour, previous to your proconsulship? Neither did you endeavour to veil this disgrace by your own dissimulation, or by the silence and oblivion of those who witnessed it? Did you hurry to an agonizing death, the naval captains without any cause, after tearing them from the embraces of their parents, who were your friends? Could not the remembrance of my name appease you in the bitterness of their grief? Was the blood of innocent men not only your delight, but also a source of profit to you?"

If your father were to address you in these words, could you on any grounds hope for his pardon?

My Lords, I have sufficiently fulfilled the wishes of the Sicilians, sufficiently answered the obligations of the task committed to me, It remains for me to state that part of the accusation, which has not been delegated to me, but which may be said to be born with me, which is engrafted in the inmost recesses of my soul, which not merely relates to the salvation of our allies, but to that of Roman citizens; which affects the lives and fortunes of all of us. Do not, my Lords, expect arguments on this head,

as if it were involved in any doubt. Every thing that I shall state relative to the punishments of Roman citizens, shall be placed in so glaring a light, that I can summon all Sicily to be the witness of the truth of my assertions. For a certain mania, the attendant of crime, has so overwhelmed his unbridled passions, his perverted nature, that he never hesitated to apply those punishments, in a public assembly, to Roman citizens, which were only destined for convict slaves. Why should I relate how many he punished with stripes? I will only, my Lords, briefly declare, that during his prætorship, there was no discrimination in this method of punishment. And the hand of the lictor dealt stripes to Roman citizens, quite inured by custom, and without waiting for his assent. Can you, Caius Verres, deny, that in the presence of a great assembly, in the forum at Lilybæum, C. Servilius, a Roman citizen, of the company of merchants residing at Panormus, was whipped on the ground by rods, close to your feet? Dare, if you are able, to refute this first charge. There was no one of Lilybæum, who did not witness it; no one throughout Sicily, who did not hear of it. I say that a Roman citizen was cut to pieces by the rods of lictors in your presence. And for what, in the name of heaven! Though in asking the

question, I injure the common cause, and the laws of the republic. For had it been done with any plea, I ask with what right such a punishment was decreed on any Roman citizen, or on Servilius? Pardon him, for this one offence, my Lords, I will not inquire deeply into the rest. He had conversed too freely on the unprincipled conduct of the prætor. As soon as Verres is informed of this, he orders the man to find bail for his appearance at Lilybæum, to a slave in the service of the temple of Venus Erycina. He comes to Lilybæum, and begins to compel him to find bail to his lictor in the sum of two thousand sesterces, *not to make gain of his booty;* though Servilius had no one to lay crime to his charge, no one to plead in his defence. He says that he will furnish commissioners to inquire into the matter out of his prætorial guard. Servilius began to deprecate his being convicted of a capital offence by unjust judges, without having any one to charge him with crime. While he was loudly making these entreaties, six powerful lictors immediately environ him, well exercised in flogging; they apply the stripes with all their might. Then Sestius, who stood next to him, (and of whom I have often spoken,) turning the but-end of his staff, began to lay it, with all his might, about his eyes. He presently fell to the ground

with his mouth and eyes streaming with blood; He notwithstanding had blows applied to his ribs, to make him promise he would find bail. Having undergone this punishment, and being taken up for dead, he presently expired. That vile slave in the service of the temple of Venus Erycina, overflowing with wealth and elegancies, placed a silver Cupid in the temple of Venus, which belonged to the deceased; thus abusing other peoples' fortunes, to perform his nightly orgies to avarice. But why am I to dwell individually on the other punishments of Roman citizens; why not rather generally? That prison which was excavated at Syracuse by the sanguinary tyrant, Dionysius, and called *latomiæ*, became during his government the abode of Roman citizens. If any one wronged him, either intentionally or apparently, here he was immediately consigned. This must appear shameful to all of you, my Lords, and I was aware it did in a former pleading, when the witnesses gave in their depositions. You are of opinion that the rights of liberty ought to be preserved, not only here in the presence of the tribunes, and other magistrates, not only in the forum, and full senate; but you decree, that wherever the rights of Roman citizens are violated, it belongs to the splendour and dignity of the republic to take cognizance thereupon.

Did you, then, dare to imprison such multitudes of Roman citizens in a place allotted to the punishment of the worst malefactors and pirates? Was you never struck with the idea of this tribunal, this numerous assembly, which now eyes you with the utmost horror and indignation? Had you never before your eyes the dignity of the Roman people absent, never the spectacle of this multitude present? Was you of opinion that it would never be laid before this tribunal, never be taken cognizance of by the laws? But what was the object of this cruelty, of the commission of so many crimes? None, my Lords, but the accomplishment of an unprecedented system of plundering. For in the same manner that those, whom poets fable to have infested promontories, and inlets of the sea, for the sake of murdering shipwrecked mariners, so did Verres infest all the seas from every part of Sicily. Whatever ship arrived in that island from Asia, Syria, Tyre, or Alexandria, it was sure to be detained by his confidential agents. The transporters of the merchandize were thrown into prison, the cargoes conveyed to the prætorial palace. It was not another Phalaris, not a Dionysius, after a long interval, who occupied Sicily, (which island has produced many horrid tyrants,) but some frightful abortion of nature, such as is reported in an-

cient times to have infested those parts. For I am of opinion that neither Scylla, nor Charybdis, was so formidable to sailors, as he was in the same straits. He may be said to have been more terrible, begirt as he was with larger and fiercer blood-hounds. He was infinitely worse than Polyphemus, who occupied Ætna alone, but Verres was the scourge of all Sicily. But what pretext had he, my Lords, for this horrid cruelty? That, which will now be pleaded in his defence. Those who touched in Sicily pretty well stocked with wealth, he gave out to be the troops of Sertorius, and that they had escaped from Dianium.[32] Some to avert their destiny, offered him purple dyes; others, frankincense and perfumes; others, linen cloths; some offered gems and pearls; others, Greek wines, and Asiatic slaves, that he might be given to understand from what countries their vessels came, by the nature of the presents. They discovered that the offers, which they thought would procure their salvation, would be ultimately the cause of ruin. He said that they belonged to the society of corsairs, and therefore consigned them to the *latomiæ*, and took especial care to keep the ships and cargoes. Pursuant to his determinations, when the prison was full of mercantile people, those things then were done, which you will hear stated by the respectable

Roman knight, L. Suetius, as well as by others. The necks of Roman citizens were inhumanly broken in prison, and that exclamation, "I AM A ROMAN CITIZEN,"[33] which had frequently rescued many from the hands of barbarians in remote countries, only served to accelerate and imbitter their fate. What is this, Verres? What do you think you can reply to this charge? Is it that I lie, or fabricate any thing? Do I exaggerate your guilt? What will you dare to say to these defenders of your's? Give me, I beg, the letters of the Syracusans, which he thinks have been written at his beck; give me the registers of the prison, which have been accurately kept, and which state the day when each prisoner was confined, and when put to death.

(Here the letters of the Syracusans are read in court.)

Here, my Lords, you have Roman citizens thrown indiscriminately into the *latomiæ;* you see a multitude of your fellow-countrymen heaped together in a noisome dungeon.[34] Now endeavour to find out how they effected their escape from thence. You cannot. Are they then all dead? If he could make that plea plausible, no one would believe him. But it is written in these very letters, which that ignorant barbarian could not expect, or compre-

hend, ΕΔΙΚΩΘΗΣΑΝ, as the Sicilians say, that is, they were condemned to punishment, and death. If any foreign king or nation were to treat a Roman citizen thus, should we not revenge ourselves in a public manner? Should we not go to war? Can we let this injurious insult to the Roman name pass unpunished? How many wars do you think our ancestors were engaged in, to avenge the insults offered to Roman citizens, the retention of ships, or the despoiling of our merchants? But I have not now to complain of their being retained; I think it to be endured that they were robbed, that the merchants were despoiled of their merchandize, ships, and slaves, that they were bound in irons; I am now to state that Roman citizens were put to death in prison. Were I to proclaim these things in Scythia, not to an assembly of Romans, not to the flower of the senate, not in the Roman forum; if I were to dwell on the many and dreadful punishments inflicted on Roman citizens, I should stir the compassion of barbarians themselves. For so great is the extent of our empire, so weighty the authority of the Roman name among all nations, that it is permitted to no one to exercise cruelty against a native of Italy. Can I then think it possible for you to have any place of refuge left, when I behold you impli-

cated by the severity of our judges, and circumvented in your crimes, by this multitude of Romans who are present?

If indeed you are able to extricate yourself from this dilemma, (which I do not believe possible) you must necessarily be inveigled in more inextricable toils by me, as I have shewn above. And if I were to yield that point on which you ground your defence, that fictitious plea would be not less ruinous to you, than my true accusation.

For what has he recourse to in his defence? He affirms that he received refugees from Spain, and condemned them to punishment. Who ever permitted you to act thus? With what right did you do it? Who ever did the same? We see the forum and temples filled with those deserters, and we allow them to take refuge here willingly. For the issue of that civil dissension, call it madness, fate, or calamity, is not so burthensome to us, but what we allow those who survived, to be under our protection. That Verres, the betrayer of a consul, the transferrer of a quæstorship, the misapplier of the public monies, has obtained forsooth such influence in the republic, as to have it in his power to inflict a cruel death on those men whom fortune might waft to any part of Sicily, and who are permitted by the senate, the magis-

trates, and Roman people to be at large in the city, and throughout the republic. After that Perpenna[35] was killed, many soldiers betook themselves to Cn. Pompeius, from the army of Sertorius. To whom of these, did he not shew protection with all his heart? To whom was that invincible arm not extended with the proffer of pardon and the hope of security? Is it then for those, who were granted protection by him against whom they had borne arms, to suffer tortures and death inflicted by you, who never was of any weight in the state? Only mark what a valid defence you have devised. I had rather, by heaven, I had rather have your defence proved in the presence of this court and the Roman people, than that, which I lay to your charge. I had rather, I repeat, have you thought inimical to that race of men, than to merchants and seafaring people. My charge only convicts you of unbridled avarice; your defence, of ungovernable madness, unparalleled cruelty, and almost a new proscription. But I cannot turn, my Lords, so much good to his account. I cannot. Here is all Puteoli;[36] in this court are numerous respectable merchants who will testify; some, that their friends, others, that their enfranchised slaves, were despoiled by him, and that several were decapitated by his order in prison. Only observe how impar-

tially I will deal with him. Refute, if you are able, P. Granius, a witness against you, who deposes that his bondmen lost their heads, and who reclaims from you his ship and merchandize. I will desert my witness, I will favour you, I say, I will even assist you. Prove now, that they served under Sertorius, that they were wafted to Sicily, that they were refugees from Dianium. I should be rejoiced if you were able to prove it. For no crime can be detected deserving a severer punishment. I will, if you please, summon a second time, L. Flavius, a Roman knight; because in a former pleading, to use the language of your friends, through your uncommon foresight, you interrogated no witness; but all are aware that you was repressed by the stings of your own conscience, and the authority of my witnesses. Let then Flavius be questioned, if you will, who was that L. Herennius, who he said made silver plate at Leptis.[37] This man, notwithstanding that there were upwards of one hundred Roman citizens at Syracuse, who not only were acquainted with him, but also defended him with tears and entreaties, was nevertheless in the presence of all Syracuse, decapitated by you. I only wish you to refute my witness, and to prove that Herennius served under Sertorius. What shall we say of that crowd of people, who with heads

wrapped in their mantles, were classed with pirates and captives, and had their heads struck off? For what reason was this new active measure of your's devised? Did the cries of L. Flavius, and of the others for L. Herennius, urge you to the commission of this atrocity? Or, did the esteem and high authority of M. Annius, a most respectable and honest man, make you rather more active and suspicious? who lately deposed, that, not a foreigner, but a Roman citizen, well known by all, and born at Syracuse, suffered decapitation by your orders. After these outcries, these public complaints and murmurs, so far from shewing himself more lenient, he became more cruel in punishing. He dragged to the place of execution Roman citizens, with their heads enveloped in their mantles. And these he put to death openly, because, as I have before stated, they inquired too minutely into the number of the captured pirates. Is this then the condition, to which the Roman people are reduced in your prætorship? Are these the hopes they have of carrying on traffic? Is this the hazard to which their lives are exposed? Are there then so few risks to which merchants are liable, that these terrors must be held over their heads by our provincial magistrates? Was it for this, that in that intimately connected province, Sicily, filled

with our most faithful allies, and valuable citizens, which always allowed most willingly Roman colonies to settle, that those, who navigated the seas from Syria and Ægypt, who even among barbarians were respected for the sake of the Roman name; was it for those, I ask, who had escaped from the hands of pirates, or the dangers of tempests, when they believed they had arrived at their homes, to suffer decapitation in Sicily?

In what language can I describe the fate of P. Gavius, a free citizen of Cosa?[38] My Lords! with what power of words and voice, with what anguish am I to relate it? I am full of anguish. But I must exert all my powers in describing it with language suitable to the grief I feel. The offence is of such a nature, that when it was related to me, I did not think it would strengthen the charges against him. For though I was aware it was perfectly true, I did not think it would appear credible. Compelled nevertheless by the tears of all the Roman citizens, who transact commercial business in Sicily, induced by the testimonies of the Valentians, respectable men, as well as of all the Rhegians, and many Roman knights, who then happened to be in Messana, I brought such proofs of it, in the course of a former pleading, that no one can entertain the least doubt on the subject.

What remains to be done, since I am wasting so many hours in the narration of his horrid cruelty; since I have exhausted all power of language in the statements of his other iniquities, and was not aware that I should have to call your attention to so multifarious a catalogue of crimes? In the statement of so grievous a case, how am I to act? I am of opinion that there is but one method to be pursued; which is, the fair statement of the crime; and which has of itself so much weight, that neither my eloquence, which is nothing, nor that of any one else, can be required to inflame your indignation to the highest pitch. This Gavius of Cosa, to whom I allude, after he had been thrown into prison by Verres, and in some secret manner had fled from the *latomiæ* to Messana, where, when he saw Italy, and the walls of Rhegium, refreshed, as it were, with the scent of liberty and free air, from which he had been exempted in his dreary dungeon, began to complain at Messana, that he, who was a Roman citizen, had been thrown into prison; and gave out that he would make the best of his way to Rome, where he would be able to denounce Verres on his arrival. The unhappy man was not aware that it was the same thing whether he spoke these things at Messana, or in the prætorial palace; for as I have before in-

formed you, Verres pitched upon this city to assist him in all his frauds, to be the receptacle and associate of all his thefts and villanies. Gavius therefore is immediately carried before the Messanian magistrates; and on that very day, as chance would have it, Verres arrived at Messana. He hears that a Roman citizen had complained of his having been confined in the *latomiæ* at Syracuse; that as he was actually embarking, and dealing out threats against the prætor, he was detained by order of the magistrates, that he might receive that punishment, which the prætor might think proper to inflict.

Verres returns thanks to the magistrates, and praises their good will and activity in his behalf. Inflamed with choler and phrenzy, he rushes into the forum; his eyes glistened, and cruelty was shot forth from his visage. All were anxious to know whither he was going, and what he intended to do. When he immediately ordered Gavius to be seized, to be stripped and bound in the midst of the forum, and rods to be got ready. The unhappy man exclaimed, that he was a Roman citizen, that he had obtained the freedom of the city of Cosa, that he had deserved this honour together with L. Pretius, a Roman knight, who had commercial dealings at Panormus, and from whom Verres might be informed of the truth of his

assertions. The prætor then says, that he had discovered he was sent into Sicily as a spy, by the chiefs of the revolted slaves: of which accusation not the slightest plea or suspicion could be traced. He immediately orders him to be severely flogged.

A Roman citizen, my Lords, was cut to pieces in the midst of the forum at Messana. No groan, no words were heard to escape him in the midst of his pain, and the crackings of the lashes, but the exclamation, "I AM A ROMAN CITIZEN." He thought that by this expression alone, he would be able to avert his stripes, and torments. As he used these words for the sake of procuring a respite from his punishment, as he implored the executioners, and frequently mentioned the name of Rome, a crucifix, a crucifix, I repeat, was prepared for this wretched man, who never before had seen that unjustifiable punishment exercised.

O the dear name of liberty! O the excellent laws of our republic! O the Porcian, the Sempronian laws![39] O the power of the tribunes, so devoutly to be wished for, and once granted to the Roman people! Is every thing then come to this, that a Roman citizen, in a province of the Roman people, in a federal city, should be tied to a stake, and beaten with rods by him, who through the kindness of the Ro-

man people, had possession of the insignia of a prætor? What if fire, red hot irons, and other tortures be administered? If his bitter lamentations, and entreaties could not fill you with compassion, could not those of the Roman citizens, who were present, restrain your severity? Did you dare to nail to a cross him who proclaimed that he was a Roman citizen? I was unwilling, my Lords, to dwell with such vehemence on this topic in my former pleading, I was indeed unwilling. For you saw how the indignation of the populace was stirred against him, by the sense of grief, hatred, and the apprehension of common danger. I placed bounds to the violence of my harangue, as well as to the indignation of C. Numitorius, a Roman knight, a man of the first consequence, and my witness; and glad I was that he expelled from court Glabrio the witness, in doing which he displayed great judgment. For he was apprehensive that the Roman people would with violence demand justice to be taken against Verres, fearing that he should escape the judgment of the laws, and verdict of this tribunal.

Now since it is evident to all, how your case is situated, and what will be determined respecting your guilt, I will thus deal with you. I will prove that that Gavius, whom you pretended to be a spy, was thrown by you into the *lato-*

miæ of Syracuse, and I will not only make it manifest from the testimonials of the Syracusans, but I will summon witnesses, whom I will leave to you to name, who will depose, that he was cast by you into those *latomiæ*. And this I will do to prevent you saying, that I have coined his name, and taken it from some fabricated registers. I will also produce the Cosani, his fellow-citizens, and friends, who will now inform you too late, but not the judges, that that P. Gavius, whom you nailed to a cross, was a Roman citizen, a native of Cosa, and not a spy from the pirates. As soon as I shall have made manifest all these things which I promise in the aggregate to those who surround you, I will then apprehend you in that very point, which you have conceded to me. And I will say, that with that I am satisfied. For what were your expressions when you was seized with perturbation, and darted out of court, terrified at the clamour of the Roman people? You said, because he wished to retard his punishment, that he exclaimed, he was a Roman citizen, though a spy. My true witnesses are at hand. For what does C. Numitorius depose; what M. and P. Cottius; noblemen from the territory of the Tauromenites? What Q. Lucceius, who has a large plate manufactory at Rhegium? What, the rest? Here are still wit-

nesses, of the same description, who aver, not that they knew Gavius, but saw him exclaiming, that he was a Roman citizen, while he was dragged to crucifixion. You yourself allow this, you yourself confess, Verres, that he exclaimed he was a Roman citizen, and that the name of our city had not weight enough with you to make you hesitate in inflicting a most cruel and ignominious death. Here, my Lords, I stop; with this one circumstance I am content, I pass over the other points. He is absolutely entrapped and strangled by his own confession. Was you ignorant who he was? Did you suspect he was a spy? I do not inquire with what grounds. I accuse you by your own asseveration. He said he was a Roman citizen. If, Verres, you were apprehended, and dragged to punishment in Persia, or the extremity of India, what could you say but that you are a Roman citizen? And if among barbarous and distant nations, the illustrious name of Rome would be of service to you, though unknown as an individual, could not he, be who he may, when hurried to the cross, though unknown to you, upon declaring he was a Roman citizen, by mentioning the name of the city, procure some respite? Men of small property, born in an obscure place, traverse the seas, and touch at places which they never before saw, who are neither

able to make it known whence they came, nor can they always be recognized. They nevertheless think themselves secure by confiding in the protection of the name of Rome, not merely from our magistrates, who are obligated by law and the risk of losing reputation; not merely from Roman citizens, who are connected with them by language, laws, and commerce, but wherever they go, they believe that this name alone will afford them protection.

Take this hope, take this safeguard away; declare there is no use in this expression, "I AM A ROMAN CITIZEN," is it possible that a prætor can with impunity decree what punishment he pleases, on any one who declares that he is of Rome? Let any one be ignorant of this, and you deprive Roman citizens of that protection which they have uniformly found in all free cities, and throughout the world. What if he named L. Pretius, a Roman knight, who was then transacting commercial business in Sicily? Would that have been a great task to send letters to Panormus? To have kept the man in custody? To have confined him in the prisons of your own Messanians, till Pretius arrived? He would have recognized the man, and you might have remitted the severity of his punishment. Had he not known Gavius, then, if you pleased, you might have established

this law for all, that whether any body was unknown to you, or was unable to name a rich person who did know him, notwithstanding his being a Roman citizen, he should be dragged to crucifixion.

But what need have I to dwell so long on Gavius? As if you was in this case, only his enemy, and not the common one of the rights, laws, and name of Roman citizens. I say, that you was not only an enemy to that individual, but to the common cause of liberty. For did it appertain to you to order the cross to be erected in that part of the city which faces the Straits, when the Messanians had placed it, as they were wont to do, in the Pompeian way, behind their city? What right had you to add, which you can by no means deny, that you pitched upon that spot, (which people heard you say,) that he, who was a Roman citizen, might behold from the tree, Italy and his home? That was the only cross, my Lords, since the foundation of Messana, ever seen there. The view of the Italian shores was fixed upon purposely, that Gavius, from his agonizing cross, might witness the narrow sea, which separated slavery from liberty; and that Italy might behold one of her own children writhing in agonies upon the strand. It is contrary to law that a Roman citizen be bound; it is crime to sub-

mit him to stripes; it is almost parricide to put him to death; what can I say if he be crucified? So nefarious a deed cannot possibly be expressed in adequate language. But he was not content with the infliction of all these punishments; "let him die," he cries, "as he beholds his native shores, let him die, in the presence of his own laws, of liberty." It was not here that you crucified Gavius, nor any Roman citizen; you nailed to the cross the common cause of liberty, and of the republic. Mark in this instance the audacity of the man. Do you not think, he could not brook the crucifixion of Roman citizens, in the forum, in the front of the town-hall, in the rostra? He fixed upon a spot, equally conspicuous as these, which were under his jurisdiction, and as contiguous as possible to Italy. He willed that this monument of his unprincipled audacity should stand in the sight of Italy, in the very vestibule of Sicily, and to arrest the attention of all who sailed by.

Were I to complain of and deplore these atrocities, not to Roman citizens, not to the friends of the republic, not to those who had heard of the Roman name; if, in fine, I were to proclaim them not to the human race, but to the brute creation; or, to go further, were I to deplore them in some desert wild, to the very rocks, to the very stones, I should touch with

compassion inanimate nature herself by the bare recital of such horrid deeds. But now that I address the senators of the Roman people, the enactors of laws, and verdicts, I have no reason to fear that that Roman citizen be pronounced deserving of such a punishment, or that all the rest were most shamefully exposed to the like danger. A little time since, my Lords, we melted into tears at the circumstance of the wretched and unjust deaths of the naval captains. We felt a proper degree of compassion for the fate of our innocent friends; what now should we feel at the shedding of our own blood, since a regard for the public safety, and for the truth, requires us all to be considered as connected by the same ties of consanguinity? All the Roman citizens here present, as well as elsewhere, beseech and implore your severity in this judgment, they require a proof of your protection, and good faith; they think that all their laws, all the advantages, which they derive from their alliance with us, are at issue with your verdict. Notwithstanding that they be satisfied with my exertions, yet if the event be different from their expectations, they shall have still more from me, and probably more than they require. For if some violence should rescue him from the punishment decreed by you, (which, my Lords, I apprehend, cannot

possibly happen,) if, notwithstanding, my expectations be deceived, if the Sicilians will have to complain of the failure of their impeachment, and will also take it ill of me; the Roman people shall, in a short time, recover their rights, through my exertions, and by their own suffrages, before the kalends of February,[40] since the power of pleading in their presence has been delegated to me.

And if you inquire respecting my glory and greatness, my Lords, it will not be remote from my views of furthering them, that he, if emancipated from your tribunal, should be reserved to appear before that of the Roman people. That trial would be brilliant, plausible, and easy for me, and grateful to the Roman people. In fine, if I should appear to have wished to build my fame, (which I have not had in view,) on the condemnation of this one man, I shall hereafter be able to raise it from the condemnation of many, if his acquittal takes place, which cannot be, without the guilt of many.

But in troth, my Lords, for your sake, and that of the republic, I am unwilling that such a crime, as his acquittal, should be committed by this honourable court. I am unwilling, that these judges, whom I esteem and love, should be so stigmatized by his acquittal, as to perambulate this city not bedaubed with wax,[41] but

with mud. Wherefore, Hortensius, from this place I would recommend you again and again, to beware (if indeed advice be necessary) of what steps you are taking, of what lengths you are going, and to consider well whom you are about to defend. Neither do I wish to circumscribe your exertions, that you should not contend with me by the display of all the oratorical powers which you possess. But if you imagine that you are able to have recourse to any unlawful or secret measures with respect to this trial; if you think you can effect any thing, through artifice, design, power, or favour, or by means of his resources, I am decidedly of opinion that you should desist, and use your endeavours to repress, and allow his sinister practices to go no further, which he has already attempted, and which have been detected by me. You will commit yourself in this trial at a very great risk, a greater far than you are aware of.[42] But if you, consul elect, think yourself exempt from the fear of losing reputation, and quit of your honours, believe me, those dignities conferred by the Roman people, are not less difficult to be retained, than to be procured. This city has borne as long as it could, as long as was necessary, that royal authority of your's in the tribunals, and throughout the republic. But from the day, that the authority of the tribunes

was restored to the Roman people, all these prerogatives (if you are not aware of it) have been taken from your hands. The eyes of all are now fixed on each of us; to ascertain with what probity I conduct my accusation, with what sense of religion this court will deliver its verdict, with what discretion you will defend the prisoner.

Of all of us, if any one treads ever so little out of the right path, it will not be noticed by that tacit disapprobation, which you were wont to despise; but a vehement and open denunciation from the Roman people, will be the consequence. You, Hortensius, have no connection of blood, no friendship with the accused. Those pleas which you were wont to have recourse to, with so much zeal, in other causes, you cannot use with respect to this man. It is most especially your concern, to take care, that what he so often held out in the province, may not be thought true, when he said, that for the defence of what he there did, he relied upon your exertion. I trust that the duties of my task have been discharged to my bitterest foes. For in the few hours of my first pleading, I have condemned him in the opinion of all mankind. The remainder of the trial will refer, not to my good faith, which has been proved; nor to his life, for that has been condemned; but it will

regard the judges, and, to speak candidly, yourself. But at what time will cognizance be taken of your manner of proceeding? (For the time and opportunity is always of the greatest importance in affairs of state, and is to be taken into consideration, in all transactions;) it will be at that time, when the Roman people will require another order of men to revise your judgment, which will be done pursuant to the law respecting new judgments and judges; which was not enacted by him, in whose name you see it published;[43] but this identical accused person, with the hopes and opinion he entertained from you, took care to have this law registered and promulgated. In my first pleading, therefore, the law was not passed; while he, thunderstruck at your severity, gave many indications of his not appearing to be able to answer your charges, no mention was made of the law; but as soon as he was confirmed in the hopes of his acquittal, the law was immediately passed. As your dignity is vehemently attacked by this law, so are his false expectations and consummate insolence favoured by it. And on this score, if any one of you commit yourself reprehensibly, either the Roman people will take cognizance of that order, which they before believed unworthy of giving a verdict; or there will be appointed new judges selected

from the old, in consequence of the abuse of the laws, pursuant to the tenor of the new one. With respect to myself, who of all human beings is more aware of the necessity of going all possible lengths? Can I, Hortensius, be silent? Am I to play the hypocrite when the republic has sustained such a wound? Are the provinces to be despoiled, our allies harassed, religion violated, Roman citizens put to torture and to death with impunity, when the impeachment devolves on me? Can I discard so great a charge in this court, or remain silent? Is not the question to be discussed, to be brought to light? Is not the good faith of the Roman people to be implored? Are not all to be summoned before this tribunal, who are implicated in such crime, who have suffered their integrity to be corrupted, our tribunals to be corrupted?

Some one perchance may ask, will you then undergo this labour, will you brave the enmities of so many individuals? Certainly I do not court their hatred. But I am not to act as those noblemen, who receive with indifference the benefits heaped upon them by the Roman people. I must run a very different career in this commonwealth. I call to recollection Marcus Cato, that wise and diligent man, who believed that he was to be recommended to the Roman people by his virtues, not by his rank; who

willed that the scion of his family should be grafted and propagated by himself; who braved the enmities of powerful people; and who always lived in the greatest activity, and in the highest honour, to extreme old age. After him, did not Q. Pompeius attain the highest honours of the state, though of obscure birth, by the great dangers which he ran, in braving the enmities of many?

We have lately witnessed L. Fimbria, C. Marius, and C. Cælius, contending, with no moderate share of exertion and enmity, to arrive at those honours, which you have obtained by trivial occupations and neglect. This is the path I intend to tread: these are the examples I purpose to follow. We see how much the virtue and industry of heads of families is obnoxious to the envy and hatred of certain nobles. If we cast our eyes ever so little askance, snares are immediately at hand; if we disclose any grounds for the suspicion of guilt, wounds must be received. We see we must be ever on our guard, ever on the alert. Are these then enmities? let them be braved: are these then labours? let them be undergone. Indeed occult and tacit hatreds are more to be dreaded than declared and manifest. Scarcely do any nobles look on our exertions with a favourable eye. It is impossible with all our endeavours, to attract

their good will. As if disjoined by nature and species, so are they abhorrent of us in will and disposition. Therefore I ask with what danger can their enmities be accompanied, whose dispositions you already have adverse and inimical, before you do any thing to provoke their resentment?

It is therefore, my Lords, to be wished that the accusation of this culprit be put an end to; since I hope the Roman people will be satisfied, and the task which my friends the Sicilians have imposed upon me, is discharged. I am nevertheless determined, if the verdict should prove contrary to my expectations, to prosecute not only those, to whom the crime of corrupting the tribunals may be imputed, but also those, with whose knowledge the corruption has been effected. Finally, if there be any, who, to rescue this criminal, may be powerful, or daring enough to venture to corrupt our tribunals, let them be so prepared as to look to their contention with me, since the Roman people differ with them in opinion. And if, in the prosecution of this criminal, the Sicilians are satisfied with my zeal, perseverance, and diligence, let them be warned, that I shall be far more violent and acrimonious with respect to those individuals, whose enmity I will court for the sake of the Roman people.

I IMPLORE and appeal to thee, omniscient omnipotent Jupiter! whose royal present Caius Verres hath basely swindled from a prince's hands, fit ornament for thy splendid temple, for the capitol, that bulwark of the nations of the world, and worthy of the sovereigns who consecrated and promised it for thy service; whose holy and magnificent image he hath removed from Syracuse: thee, imperial Juno! whose two temples, erected in two islands of our allies, Melitè and Samos, most holy, most ancient, that same Verres, impelled by a similar audacity, hath despoiled of all their votive offerings and ornaments: I implore thee, Minerva! whose two celebrated and sacred fanes he hath pillaged; one, at Athens, of much precious gold; the other, at Syracuse, of every thing but the roof and walls: you, Latona! Apollo! and Diana! whose ancient seat, and divine habitation (I will not say temple), at Delos, held most sacred according to the religious opinions of mortals, he plundered in a felonious attack by night: thee, a second time, Apollo! whom he removed from Chios: thee, again and again, Diana! whom he hath despoiled at Perga: whose revered image at Segesta, consecrated not only by the religion of the inhabitants, but also by the victory of P. Africanus, he dislodged and removed: and thee, O Mercury! whom

Verres placed in his villa, and private palæstra, but whom P. Africanus willed should stand in a city of our allies, in the gymnasium of the Tyndarites, to be the guardian and protector of their youth: thee, O Hercules! whom Verres, in the dead of the night, by means of an organized band of slaves, dared to force away from thy seat at Agrigentum: thee, Cybele! great universal mother! whose most august and holy temple at Engyium, he hath so stripped of the monuments of victory, and other ornaments, that nothing remains now but the name of P. Africanus, and the proofs of thy violated religion: I invoke you, O Castor and Pollux! you, who stand in the forum of the Roman people, ye arbiters and witnesses of forensic affairs, of laws, of judgments, of important councils, from whose temple he hath nefariously purloined plunder of exorbitant value: and you, ye assembly of the deities! who enter the crowded games in your sacred cars, whose processions he instituted for the sake of lucre, not for the inspiration of respect for religion: you, O Ceres and Proserpine! whose rites according to the religion of mortals, are observed by the most important and mysterious ceremonies; you, who have discovered, and disseminated among mankind, the arts of life, laws, manners, and civilization; whose sacrifices the Roman people have

adopted, and derived from the Greeks, and do hold in such veneration, both publicly and privately, that they are esteemed rather of domestic than foreign origin; but which have been so defiled and violated by that one man, that he caused one image of Ceres to be forcibly removed from the sacristy at Catinè, which for a man to touch, or even look at, was crime: another, from her abode at Enna, of such exquisite beauty, that men imagined they saw Ceres herself, or at least her effigy, not from a human, but divine laboratory: I implore and invoke again and again, you, ye revered Goddesses! who inhabit those groves, and those lakes of Enna, to whom all Sicily is a care, the defence of which has been consigned to my hands; whose sacred rites all nations respect, since they are indebted to you for the invention of corn, and its distribution throughout the earth: I implore and conjure the whole company of heaven, against whose temples and sacred rites Verres impelled by an ungovernable and audacious mania, hath always declared sacrilegious war; that, if in the trial of this criminal, all my exertions have been directed with the view of furthering the prosperity of our allies, of supporting the dignity of the Roman people, and of proving my good faith; if all my attentions and cares have been exerted for no other pur-

pose but to discharge my duty, and vindicate the truth; may that disposition, which has governed me throughout this trial, actuate you, my Lords, in the delivery of your verdict. And finally, I pray that by your decree, condign punishment may be conferred on Caius Verres for his nefarious and unexampled deeds of sacrilege, audacity, perfidy, lust, avarice, and cruelty; that the republic and my good faith remain satisfied with this one impeachment; and that it may devolve on me henceforth, rather to defend the virtuous, than accuse the abandoned. [44]

NOTES.

NOTES.

[1] This valuable argument is interesting in every point of view. It does no less credit to the taste than the generosity of the rival of Cicero, who is not unfrequently treated with scorn in various passages of the Verrine pleadings. The elegance with which it is written, must make every scholar regret that no specimen of the eloquence of the author has been transmitted to us. Doubtless there are many, who would be glad to compound for the loss of the In Vatinium, the Pro Murenâ, Flacco, Syllâ, Plancio, and Sextio, for as many of the speeches of Hortensius.

[2] Marcus Antonius who pleaded for Aquillius, was grandfather to the triumvir: he was killed in the civil wars of Marius. M. Aquillius was a prætor of Sicily; he was accused by Fufius, and acquitted in consequence of his services in the servile war. He was afterwards in Asia Minor, where Mithridates put him to death by pouring liquid gold down his throat.

[3] The slaves that revolted under Spartacus, established the theatre of war in Sicily for a considerable time.

[4] Now Caltabellotta, in the Val di Mazzara. For its situation, consult the translator's chart. Faden, 1812.

[5] Memorable and instructive political lesson.

[6] A town in the north of Sicily, situated according to Kluver, between Calactè and Aluntium, probably the same as the modern Castri. Megara was a city, about five miles north of Syracuse; it was founded by a colony from the Attic Megara. The translator would have passed unconsciously over its ruins, had he not found a mutilated statue, and some vestiges of its ancient walls, now the abode of scorpions, in the middle of a wheat field.

[7] Now Salemi, a small town of the Val di Mazzara.

[7] Now Palermo, the modern capital. It exhibits scarcely any vestige of its ancient grandeur. There are however some granite columns at the angles of several of the modern streets. In the sixteenth century, its ancient theatre existed, but the ruins have been since removed to enlarge the square in front of the viceregal palace. The medals illustrated by Paruta, commemorate temples in honour of Jupiter and Hercules at Palermo. The finest specimen of Roman sculpture existing at Palermo, is indisputably a prosopopeia of Panormus and the consul Cæcilius Metellus. As it has reference to the union that subsisted between the Panormitans and Romans, previous to the sanguinary battle which took place on the banks of the river Amiraglio, and which Polybius has at length commemorated, an engraving of these statues is annexed at the head of this pleading. Among the few inscriptions preserved at Palermo, the following is the most worth notice: it is in verse, and has been commemorated by Peter Burmann.

Hujus nympha loci, sacri custodia fontis,
Dormio, dum blandæ sentio murmur aquæ.
Parce meum, quisquis tangis cava marmora, somnum
Rumpere; sive bibas, sive lavêre, tace.

Which has been so beautifully rendered by Pope:

Nymph of the grot, these sacred streams I keep,
And to the murmur of the waters sleep;
Ah! spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
And drink in silence, and in silence lave.

[8] The lettiga is a method of conveyance now generally used in Sicily, only instead of being borne by men, it is supported by two mules. It was also anciently carried by mules, as we learn from an epigram by Automedon, preserved in the Anthologia, recording his journey in a lettiga.

Ημιονοι συγγηροι εμην κομεουσιν απηνην,
Ταισιν Ομηρειαις παντα λιλαις ικελαι.
Χωλαι τε, ῥυσαι τε, παραβλωπες τ'οφθαλμω,
Ηφαισιου πομπη · σκυλινα δαιμονια ·
Ουπολε γευσαμεναι μα τον ηλιον, ουδ'εν ονειρῳ,
Ου θερεος κριθην, ουδ' εαρος βολαναν ·
Τουνεκ' εμευ μεν εκηλι βιον, ζωοιλε, κορωνης,
Η ελαφευ, κενεην ηερα βοσκομεναι.

Twin mules my litter bear, so lean they would affright ye,
They each, from crown to heel, resemble Homer's Litæ;
Like Mulciber they stumble, their skins dangle from their sides,
Such squinting worn-out cattle I envy him who strides;
The wretched hacks were ne'er turn'd out to graze in fields by day;
They never ev'n dreamt of oats, or good rich meadow hay;
Live on, live on, ye thriving beasts! your master's age surpass;
Or ev'n a crow's, or stag's; and grind the air instead of grass.

[9] It must have been very near the fountain Arethusa. The spot is now closely built.

[10] Cicero here continues a vein of irony which always glances at the plea of Hortensius, in favour of the military virtue of Verres.

[11] Tempsa was a town of Calabria, near the modern St. Eufemia. Cicero here alludes to an invasion effected by the slaves near that city, which we may presume that Verres attempted to make a show to prevent. Valentia was also a town of Calabria, near the modern Bivona.

[12] A town situated between Pæstum, and Cape Palinurus. See D'Anville.

[13] Now Tauormina. It is celebrated for its magnificent theatre, the detail of which not having been given by Mr. Wilkins, will perhaps not here be thought obtrusive. It stands on a bold promontory commanding an extensive view of Ætna

and the Sicilian shore in perspective, as far as Catania. It was built of brick, and enough remains of the proscenium and gallery that surrounded the seats, to indicate the general plan. The arches of the corridor still remain, which were continued all round the theatre, and by which the spectators entered. The translator counted thirty-six niches in the wall which bounded the seats, and which served as a socle for the columns that supported the gallery. These were probably filled with statues. The form of the seats is entirely effaced, and his attempts to discover the vomitoria were fruitless. Two apartments to the right and left of the proscenium are yet entire with their roofs; these, it is supposed, served, one for the actors to retire to, the other, as a depository for the scenery and decorations. Near the spot, where the translator judged the first row of seats begun, there is a hole cut in the rock, where probably there was placed a beam, which served to support an awning to protect the spectators from the sun and rain. The distinctness with which the sounds are heard by a person standing near the corridor is truly surprizing. It possibly precluded the necessity of having those harmonic vases which were used by the ancients for the reverberation of sound. These echeia, Vitruvius tells us, were placed in cells between the rows of seats occupied by the spectators; they were made of brass, or earthenware, and proportioned in magnitude to the size of the building. In the smaller theatres, they were tuned in harmonic proportions of fourths, fifths, eighths, and their replicates; and in theatres of greater magnitude, there was a vase to correspond with every sound in the disdiapason throughout. The Romans were obliged to the Greeks for this invention, for the echeia were first brought into Italy by Mummius. For their probable situation, see Perrault's Vitruvius. In the remains of the amphitheatre at Nismes, there are numerous excavations under the seats, which probably served as receptacles for these vases. See Clerisseau. In the years 1748, 1749, many columns of foreign marble were dug from the ruins of this theatre. From which we may form

some opinion of the luxury of the ancient Sicilians, who not content with the fine marbles, which their own country produces, transported from Italy and Africa materials for building. Travellers have doubted whether the theatre at Tauromenium be Grecian or Roman. It may be proved to be the latter. For by referring to Vitruvius, we find the distinction clearly marked. If a square be inscribed in a circle, the circumference of which determines the range of the lowest rank of seats, the spot where the pulpitum begins shall be determined by a side of the square, if the theatre be Greek; again, if an equilateral triangle be inscribed in a circle, the side opposite the angle which touches the middle of the seats, shall determine where the pulpitum begins, if the theatre be Roman. The beginning of the pulpitum in the theatre of Tauromenium coincides with the side of an equilateral triangle. The theatre is therefore Roman. There are also ruins of cisterns and a naumachia, which once displayed naval combats, but now blooms with oranges, lemons, palms, and carroub-trees. The following inscription, preserved at Rome, attests the ancient splendour of Tauromenium.

ΤΗΝ . ΕΠΙ . ΠΑΣΗ . ΑΡΕΤΗ . ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ .
ΤΕ . ΔΙΑΠΡΕΠΟΥΣΑΝ . ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ . ΒΑΣΣΙΛΛΑΝ .
ΒΟΥΛΗ . ΚΑΙ . ΔΗΜΟΣ . ΤΗΣ . ΛΑΜΠΑΣΙΑΣ .
ΠΟΛΕΩΣ . ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΕΙΤΩΝ .
ΑΝΕΘΗΣΑΝ .

"The senate and people of the splendid city of the Tauromenians erected this in honour of Julia Vassilla, pre-eminent for her prudence, and other virtues."

On a chest much worn by time, the translator read FVLGVR CONDITVM, which proves that the custom of preserving earth struck by lightning, and holding it sacred, obtained in Sicily. Another inscription preserved in a church in the square of Tauormina, recording a victor at the Pythian games,

Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΝ ΟΛΙΜΠΙΟΣ ΜΕΣΤΟΝ ΝΙΚΑΣΑΝΤΑ ΠΙΘΙΑ ΚΕΛΗΤΙ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ.

It is impossible to describe in adequate language the beauty of the site of Tauromenium. The translator can never forget the bold features of its promontory, nor the " gemitum ingentem pelagi, pulsataque saxa ;"

Nec vos indigenis suffulta theatra columnis
Tauromenitano conspicienda jugo !

[14] For the various methods of procuring corn from Sicily for the service of the republic, consult the De re frumentariâ.

[15] Inhabitants of Neætum, the modern Noto. See note to the preceding pleading.

[17] These quarries are now become the garden of the Capuchins. They are so exceedingly picturesque and beautiful, that it was a dungeon much courted by the translator, during his stay at Syracuse. He noticed in one part of the rock, an *incipient* ear of Dionysius, which probably that tyrant originally intended to form in this place, but left off the work, and completed another which is still seen in the quarries of Neapolis ; and where a wonderful echo is heard. For a faithful view of the garden of the capuchins, the spot where Verres confined many Romans, and where the Athenians under Nicias perished, See Wilkins's Græcia Magna. There are several rings still seen in the sides of the rock, to which the criminals were attached.

[18] Agent of Verres in the monopoly of tithes See the De re frùment.

[19] This part of Syracuse is now very different, being closely built, and laid out in crooked streets.

[20] The scanty remains of Heraclea Minoa, are still to be seen on the left bank of the modern Fiume Platani near the

mouth. In the time of Fazello, there remained some arches of an aqueduct. A mœnibus urbis ad Lycum usque, aquæ ductus integer ad huc extat quadrato, sed gypseo lapide extructus: monumenta reliqua, dum formâ careant, ignoratur ad quem usum fuerint confecta. Faz. lib. iv. cap. 2. At present, there is nothing remaining but some broken walls, and cisterns.

[21] Now Cape Passaro.

[22] The chamærops humilis of Linnæus. The dwarf palm is particularly common about Campo-bello, near the ruins of Selinus.

Te que datis linquo ventis *palmosa* Selinus. ÆNEID, lib. iii.

[23] Called in Greek Ὀδυσσεως λιμην; for its situation consult the translator's chart. Faden, 1812. Here Ulysses touched, and raised a temple in honour of Hecate on Pachynus.

> ..... on Pachynus' shore, thy cenotaph
> Shall rear its sacred marbles; round it dreams
> Shall spread their wings of soporific shade.
>
> ROYSTON'S CASSANDRA.

[24] The whole of this description of the sailing and catastrophe of the Syracusan fleet, is inimitably fine. It is managed with such wonderful dexterity, that the occurrence seems to pass before the eyes of the reader, as Hortensius has observed in his argument.

[25] Alluding probably to the Bacchanalian outrages in the worship of Priapus at Lampsacus. Or it may allude to the danger which Verres incurred in the case of the Philodami, related in a former pleading.

[26] This Hadrian was an officer of Lucullus who conducted himself ill as governor in Africa.

[27] Those who have been at Syracuse will bear testimony to the truth of this accurate and beautiful definition.

[28] Cicero here imagines Verres holding forth these words, probably to give a greater emphasis.

[29] The L. Metellus here alluded to, was prætor of Sicily, A. U. C. 685. It appears from a former pleading, that he was a partizan of Verres, and endeavoured to keep back the witnesses, to prevent them from deposing against him.

[30] A city in the north of Sicily, now called Mistretta.

[31] It must be remembered, that Tully here imagines the father of Verres calling him to account.

[32] A town situated on a promontory in the kingdom of Valencia, and now called Denia, where there was a celebrated temple to Diana.

[33] It will be remembered, that the apostle Paul escaped being scourged at Jerusalem, by his declaring to the centurion, "I am a Roman citizen." See Acts, chap. xxii. ver. 27.

[34] The English reader will here probably bring to mind how an Indian Verres treated several distinguished Englishmen about half a century since, in the East.

[35] This was the Perpenna, who had the meanness to invite Sertorius to his home and assassinate him.

[36] A maritime town between Naples and Baiæ, now called Puzzuoli. Here Cicero had a villa.

[37] There were two cities of this name in Africa; one near the Syrtes, the other near Adrumetum. Leptis was also the Carthaginian name of Palermo.

[38] A town of Etruria, now called Cozzo.

[39] The lex Porcia ordained that no magistrate should punish with death, or scourge with rods, a Roman citizen; the Sempronia lex ordained that no capital judgment should be passed on a Roman citizen without the authority of the senate.

[40] Cicero here means that on his entering his edileship, he will undertake another prosecution, if the verdict should prove contrary to his expectations.

[41] Sarcastic allusion to the delivery of the verdicts, which were sealed with wax.

[42] According to Plutarch, Hortensius did not venture to plead directly the cause of Verres, but he was prevailed on to appear for him at the laying of the fine, and had received an ivory *sphinx* from him by way of consideration. In this case, Cicero threw out several enigmatical hints against Hortensius; and when he said, "He knew not how to solve riddles," Cicero retorted, "That is somewhat strange, since you have a *sphinx* in your house."—Plutarch in Ciceron.

[43] The orator here alludes to Aurelius Cotta, whose law for the reform of the tribunals was passed in the consulate of Pompey and Crassus.

[44] This splendid peroration is one of the richest specimens of the eloquence of Cicero. The genius of the English language is not sufficiently in unison with that of the Latin to admit of justice being done it in a translation. It flows indeed from a "copious and redundant fountain of genius." And every scholar on perusing it will probably hail the memory of Cicero in the words which Cæsar applied to the orator on another occasion:

Salve omnium triumphorum lauream adepte majorem!

The orations against Verres appear to be strangely titled; since the two first, that is the Divinatio, and Interrogatio testium, were only spoken, there is surely no visible cause for calling the others *Actio secunda.* It would perhaps present a clearer view of the whole (to us moderns at least,) thus to title them:

In Quintum Cæcilium Oratio, quæ est Divinatio.
In Caium Verrem Actio prima, quæ est Interrogatio testium.
Orationum designatarum in C. Verrem, Liber primus.
De Prætură urbanâ.
Orationum designatarum in C. Verrem Liber secundus.
De Jurisdictione Siciliensi.
Orationum designatarum in C. Verrem Liber tertius.
De re frumentariâ.

Orationum designatarum in C. Verrem Liber quartus.

De Signis.

Orationum designatarum in C. Verrem Liber quintus.

De Suppliciis.

For the word *actio* implies something carrying or carried into effect, which applies to the Divinatio and Interrogatio testium, but not to the other five.

Verres, after the delivery of the first pleading, absconded, and went into voluntary exile. According to Seneca, he was restored to his country through the influence of Cicero; and what is worthy of note, both Pliny and Lactantius relate that he perished together with Cicero, in the proscription of Antony, because he refused to surrender his Corinthian Vases to the triumvir.

His name is consigned to eternal obloquy and detestation; and holds out a memorable warning to those governors, who look for provinces as sources of emolument, and places for the gratification of crime, instead of a field for the exercise of humanity, and furtherance of salutary measures.

POSTSCRIPT,

CONTAINING

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS RELATIVE TO THE STATE OF MODERN SICILY.

Quicquid Sicilia gignit, proximum est iis, quæ optima dicuntur.
SOLINUS.

.....Pater o Lenæe! tuis hîc omnia plena
Muneribus; tibi pampineo gravidus autumno
Floret ager: spumat plenis vindemia labris. VIRGIL.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The translator has to apologize for introducing here matter certainly irrelevant to the Verrine pleadings. The case is this. When he arrived in Sicily in the year 1808, he was fully prepared to collect materials for an original work; but he was deterred from proceeding, when he found that in nearly all his inquiries, he had been anticipated by Cluver, Mirabella, Arezzo, Hoüel, or Wilkins for the antiquities; and often by Brydone, and Swinburne, for the description of the modern state of the island. On his arrival in the capital, however, he found that there were some points relative to the natural productions, manufactures, arts, and literature, which had been untouched, or very briefly dwelt upon by preceding travellers. These, however scanty, he lays before the public in the form of a post-script, apprehending that at a period when

Sicily attracts the general attention, they will not be deemed uninteresting or obtrusive.

The translator invites some future traveller to collect materials for a *Flora Sicula*; and the Arabic scholar, who would make drawings of the remains of Saracenic buildings existing in different parts of the island, and consult the precious MSS. preserved in the monastery at Morreale, would leave little or nothing to be desired relative to Sicily.

POSTSCRIPT.

Dimensions of the Island.

Ancient geographers and historians differ in their accounts of the size of Sicily. The estimates of Diodorus, Pliny, Marcian, and Ptolemy, are as follows:

Distance from Pelorus to Lilybæum.

	Miles.	Paces.
Diodorus	212	500
Pliny	170	
Marcian	143	
Ptolemy	265	

From Lilybæum to Pachynus.

	Miles.	Paces.
Diodorus	187	500
Pliny	200	
Marcian	200	
Ptolemy	166	

From Pachynus to Pelorus.

	Miles.	Paces.
Diodorus	142	500
Pliny	166	
Marcian	166	
Ptolemy	165	

Of modern geographers, Cluver obtained the most credit, in his determinations relative to Sicily, till a German, by name Schmettau, published a chart, and dedicated it to the Emperor Charles VI. which is received as the most exact, and of which copies have been made by the geographers of England. According to Schmettau, the admeasurements, including the sinuosities of the shores, are as follows:

	Ital. miles.
From Pelorus to Lilybæum	282
Lilybæum to Pachynus	208
Pachynus to Pelorus	160
Total circuit of Sicily	650

Climate.

The climate of Sicily, generally speaking, is grateful and salubrious. There are however spots in the interior, which during the autumnal heats, are as dangerous as the Campagna di Roma, from the marsh miasma; these are fre-

quent along the banks of the Giarretta, and Dittaino, and by the stagnant pools formed by the Fiume Salso in its course; which but ill corresponds with the poetic rapture of one of the shepherds in Theocritus, when he exclaims:

> Ἰμερα δάνθ' ὑδατος ῥείτω γαλα.
> Let floods of milk for water Him'ra pour!

The climate of Palermo is the hottest in the island, and at the same time, more liable to changes, than what are experienced in other parts. If the statement made by Count de Borch be correct, a difference of fifty-three degrees has there been observed in a thermometer by Fahrenheit, in the short space of eight hours. Early in September, 1808, the mercury rose from eighty-two degrees, to one hundred and nine, and the translator has been credibly informed, that it has occasionally risen no less suddenly, to one hundred and fourteen, a degree of heat probably never exceeded in Syria,[1]

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[1] On examining the observation of the temperature of the atmosphere kept by Dr. Clarke, during his tour in Syria, in the midst of summer, the heat it appears never exceeded 100° in the shade; but during the blowing of the scirocco at Palermo, in September, 1808, the mercury stood for at least six hours at 109°, though the thermometer was suspended on an inner wall. At this period, the metal buttons which the translator happened then to wear, gave sensible pain to the hand.

or Senegal. The winter is not less remarkable for the abundant rains. The Abate Balsamo, who has been in England, and holds a distinguished rank among the Sicilian literati, assured the translator, that more rain falls annually in Palermo, than in England; and his assertion may be credited by those, who have observed with what force it is occasionally poured from the clouds during the winter months. The scirocco is certainly very pernicious to the animal and vegetable creation in Sicily; during its continuance the profoundest silence reigns in the streets, and nothing appears capable of withstanding its enervating influence, but the stubborn aloe, and opuntia. It is fortunate that this dreadful wind does not last beyond a few hours, or it would be attended by consequences as unpleasant, as what Gili relates of the banks of the Orinoco, where the food is injured by maggots, in the space of one day; and where the Spaniards are under the necessity of binding their wrists with silver plates, to allay the violent aching which they feel in the pulse.

Productions and Manufactures.

To enumerate its productions is the best eulogium of that island, which, from time immemorial, has been celebrated for its fertility;

which Marcus Cato[2] called the provisionary storehouse of the republic, the nurse of the Roman people. We may venture to pronounce that there is no country in Europe so favoured by nature, and it must excite the admiration of all who consider the variety and richness of its animal, vegetable, and mineral productions. From the little attention paid to breeding, and rural economy in general, the cattle have not attained that degree of goodness of which they are susceptible. The beef is coarse, and the sheep are very inferior to the English, both in point of fineness of fleece, and flavour of flesh. But the pork is excellent; so is the kid, and lamb. Goats abound, and their milk is substituted for that of cows, both for drinking, and the manufacture of cheese. As heretofore, grain is considered as the staple commodity of Sicily. They export it principally for Malta, at Augusta, Syracuse, Terranova, and Girgenti. Of fruits, oranges, lemons, figs, (of which they have two crops annually,) almonds, grapes, and walnuts, are all excellent in their kind, and form a considerable branch of commerce. Potash is manufactured on the southern coast, and exported chiefly from Trapani, Marsala, and Girgenti.

[2] Ille itaque M. Cato sapiens cellam penuariam Reipublicæ nostræ, nutricem populi Romani Siciliam appellavit. Orat. Verrin. lib. ii.

There are two plants, from which they extract soda, called in Sicily, *Spinella domestica*, and *selvaggia*, and by Linnæus, *Salsola Soda*, and *Salsola tragus*. A spot is generally chosen near the sea for their cultivation, as the saline particles are found to be beneficial to the plants. The time of sowing is about February, and of cutting, in July. The crops are liable to suffer from a small insect, called *Pulice*, which in some years, have increased to so great a degree, as to destroy the whole produce; but this has been remedied by sowing spinage with the *spinella*, which has the property of poisoning the insects. After cutting the plants, and binding them in bundles, they throw them successively into a furnace, where they are presently consumed, and a liquor is distilled similar in colour to melted brass, which gradually becomes condensed, and forms a hard stone. As soon as the furnace is filled with this liquefied matter, they leave it for two or three days, and afterwards break it, when it is ready for exportation. They export it annually to the amount of seventy, or eighty thousand ounces.

Cantharides are common in the woods: the sugar-cane is a plant that will thrive in Sicily; and who has not heard of the Hyblæan honey? The herb sumach is an excellent substitute for the oak-bark in tanning hides. According to

an intelligent merchant resident at Palermo, they export annually of this herb, to the value of 240,000 ounces.[3] Hemp is cultivated, especially about Syracuse; and some attention has been paid to the culture of rice and cotton. The latter is not inferior in quality to the African. The process pursued in the cultivation is as follows: they plough the land destined to receive the seed in November, and in the month of April, they commit it to the ground, having washed and cleared it of the filaments. As soon as the plants have attained the height of a foot, they assume a leaden colour, and then is the time for cutting off the top, which the Sicilians call *accimare*, and this operation

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[3] Table of Sicilian monies, weights, and measures.

Monies.

6 piccioli ..... = 1 grano.
20 grani ..... = 1 tari.
30 tari ..... = 1 onze.
2½ pezzi, or Spanish dollars = 1 onze.

Weights.

30 onzi ..... = 1 rotoli.
100 rotoli ..... = 1 quintal.
2½ English pounds ..... = 1 rotoli.

Measures.—Of Grain.

16 tomoli ..... = 1 salme.
1 salme ..... = 2 quintals and 64 rotoli.

Of Cloths.

8 palmi ..... = 1 canna.

strengthens the plant, and makes it produce more blossoms. They gather the crops in October, and having carried them to the magazines, spread them on hurdles to dry, which facilitates the separation of the seed. The plants shoot forth a second time, and they gather the produce in December, which however is inferior to the first. What an important branch of commerce might cotton become in Sicily, were the cultivation more encouraged! Near San Felipe d' Argiro, there are annual crops of saffron. Both Pliny and Solinus celebrate the saffron of Centuripe. The time of sowing is in May, and of gathering the flowers in September. Liquorice is cultivated chiefly about Lentini,[4] and the plants are gathered in November. The manufacturers cut the roots into slips, and submit them to the press; after they are sufficiently bruised, they are thrown into a cauldron filled with water, where they leave them to boil for

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[4] Very scanty are the remains of the ancient Leontium, the country of Gorgias the orator. On an elevated spot near the modern town, there are however the vestiges of an octangular tower built of square stones, and some fragments of aqueducts and cisterns. There are also some layers of the ancient walls formed of blocks of stone of immense size. They pretend to shew the remains of a gate, near which the Syracusan King, Hieronymus, was murdered. Two fine vases, called Etruscan, which the translator was shewn in the town-hall, were lately discovered in the ruins of Leontium.

five hours. When the roots are sufficiently moistened, they are heaped together in large frails, which have a hole at the bottom, through which the juice drops into a receptacle beneath. The liquor thus procured, is again boiled for twenty-four hours; it gradually condenses, and becomes at last a thick paste, when it is rolled in bay-leaves, and packed in chests for exportation. The best manna-trees grow in the neighbourhood of Geraci, and the liquor is distilled from a tree very similar to the ash. They generally select an eastern situation for the culture of manna-trees, *(Fraxinus folio rotundiore. Linn.)* In the month of July, they make a horizontal incision in the bark, for the length of a span, taking care to cut it always on the same side, that the opposite one may serve for the ensuing year. A thick whitish liquor presently exudes, and soon becomes condensed. Manna is a cathartic, and is used by dyers to give a lustre to their cloths. Fossil salt is found in Camarata; artificially procured from the sea, it is a lucrative object of commerce in Trapani. Of sulphur, Ætna alone affords an inexhaustible mine; it is found also near Palma. The process of the separation from the stones is very simple. After digging them from the mountain, they are put into a furnace, where the heat presently separates and liquefies the sulphur, which flows

through a cock, and fills vessels, in which it is left to cool. The best oil is expressed at Cefalu. If the Sicilian oil is inferior to the Provençal or Lucchese, it must be attributed to the indolence of the Sicilians, who will not take the trouble to separate the good berries from the bad. Before they are submitted to the press, they are piled in heaps, and left to ferment. The oil in consequence acquires a pungent and fetid flavour, neither is it obtained in such profusion as from olives newly gathered.

The village of Le Giarre, between Tauormina and Catania, is remarkable for its large manufactures of vermicelli and macaroni. The paste when prepared, is put into a brass pan, at the bottom of which a number of small holes are cut in the shape of a ring; through these the paste is forced, by means of a pestle fitted tight to the pan, and this is pressed downwards by a screw, turned by a windlass. The terrifying aloe and opuntia *(fico d' India. Sic.)* afford the best materials for the inclosure of fields, perhaps in the world. The tall stems of the aloe have a singular appearance as they are bent by their own weight downwards, and even lie upon the ground. It is well known that these plants obstructed in no small degree, the operations of the British cavalry in Portugal. Like fixed bayonets, they present their formidable display

of leaves, the strength of which may be estimated by any one, who aiming at the point with an oaken stick, may sever it by a moderate blow. The leaves are not without their use, for a strong thread is procured from the fibres. The Sicilians, after having soaked the leaf for eight or ten days in water, pound it between two stones, to clear away the softer parts; and having nailed it up, draw a blunt knife from one end to the other, to clear away the transversal fibres. The thread thus procured, is at first of a bright yellow colour, which it soon loses, by being washed and beat. When dried, it is fit for use, and is employed by the Sicilians for the purposes of sewing. The Catalonians even attempted to make cloth with it, but the experiment failed. The opuntia is a far more valuable plant, for it produces a refreshing fruit during the summer months, and the poor live mostly upon it. But it is of a more repulsive character, than even the aloe; for not only is each individual leaf thickly beset with thorns, but the exterior of the fruit is armed with prickles, similar to those of the common barberry. Nor is this all. Innumerable points almost invisible, surround the outer coat; and of such extreme subtility, that they will penetrate gloves, and the pores of the skin, where they will remain for some days, causing a sensation similar to what a person would experi-

ence, who should break to pieces in his naked hand, the finest spun glass. The fruit of the carroub tree, called by the Spaniards "*algarroba*," is an excellent stomachic, and alterative; the Sicilians feed their cattle with it; and the finest trees grow in the neighbourhood of Lentini, where they are often seen sweeping the ground with their luxuriant branches.

There is a manufacture of nitre, near the ear of Dionysius, at Syracuse. Silk is procured in great quantities in the Val Demone; there are many looms at Messina, but many more at Catania, where the manufacture is carried on with spirit, and where they have adopted such machines as are used at Manchester in the cotton manufactories. There is but little timber in Sicily; the largest woods are in the neighbourhood of Polizzi, and in the woody region of Ætna. The most esteemed wines are those of Castelvetrano, Catania, and Marsala. Muscat wine is made at Syracuse, but little inferior to Constantia in flavour. The sea, too, is a source of wealth to Sicily. Anchovies and tunnies are exported in great quantities. Cefalu and Tyndaris were the most renowned for their tunnies in antiquity,[5] as was Tauormina for its

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[5] Εν Σικελων τε κλυτω νησω, Κεφαλοιδις αμεινους
Πολλω τωνδε τρεφει θυννους, και Τυνδαρις ακτη.
Antiphon apud Athen.

mullets.[6] The coral fishery is found to answer the expectations of those who undertake it. Sicily is likewise rich in its marbles, and precious stones: agates, jaspers, porphyry, and alabaster, are found in divers parts of the island; lapis lazuli in the Fiume di Nisi, and amber, black and yellow, at Ragusa and Catania. There are silver and iron mines near Messina, but now no longer worked; gold has also been found, but in too inconsiderable a quantity to compensate the expense of extraction.

Character and Dispositions of the Inhabitants.

But this munificence of nature is but ill seconded by the exertions of the modern inhabitants, who seem to place the supreme good in indolence. Notwithstanding however the general corruption of manners, the nobles are very disinterested and obliging to strangers. Their minds are rarely cultivated, or if they pay attention to any accomplishments, it is to those which have an immediate reference to the imagination. Agriculture and gardening are never thought of, and the innumerable beauties of the Sicilian landscape pass unnoticed before their eyes. This is the way of life which they pursue

[6] Mullus erit domino quem misit Corsica, vel quem Tauromenitanæ rupes. *Juvenal, Sat. iv.*

at Catania and in the capital, worthy of Sybaris, or "the crowned, the petulant, and the moist Tarentum." They rise late, and never appear till dinner, which takes place at two or three o'clock; they adjourn to the siesta about four, which is continued till six. They then appear in their calashes, and parade up and down the high street in Catania, the Marino at Palermo, and the Dromo at Messina. An hypæthral opera then takes place in honour of Saints Agatha, Rosolia, or Placido.[7]

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[7] That religious mummery, so revolting to the understandings of Englishmen, is eminently conspicuous at the festivals of Saint Agatha of Catania, and Saint Rosolia at Palermo; but is perhaps no where more remarkable for absurdity than at Syracuse; where the people, to use the language of Locke, "having been principled with an opinion, that they must not consult reason in the things of religion, however apparently contradictory to common sense, and the very principles of all their knowledge, have let loose their fancies and natural superstition, and have been led by them into so strange opinions and practices in religion, that a considerate man cannot but stand amazed at their follies, and judge them so far from being acceptable to the great and wise God, that he cannot avoid thinking them ridiculous and offensive to a sober good man."

The translator witnessed a festival wherein the priesthood moved in procession to the church of St. Lucia, the protectress of Syracuse. Dressed in white with crimson mantles, they bore tapers in their hands, and their faces were covered with hoods, leaving two holes for the eyes. Afterwards followed an image of the Virgin as large as life: to express the

They afterwards meet to pass their evenings at cards, and generally in the winter, crowd round a charcoal chafing-dish, where they drink iced water and eat sweetmeats: and this is their history.

The ladies cultivate music with considerable

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poignancy of her grief, they had stuck poignards in her bosom; she wore a periwig and a gown of crimson silk, while a pale blue pelisse floated behind in the air. Wherever there was an altar in the street, through which she passed, she was saluted with pétards, the ringing of bells, and the firing of guns. Towards the evening she returned to the altar from which she came, which was illuminated with numerous tapers. But on the morning of Easter day, the translator saw from the balcony of Baron Bosco's house, a multitude of people assembled at one corner of the square; presently appeared the Virgin attired as before, and opposite to her, a figure of Jesus in crimson silk, and crowned with thorns. They first approached slowly, and then were made to nod to each other amid repeated vollies of pétards. The bearers of the statues then ran towards the centre of the square with as much fury as two regiments on a charge. The ceremony concluded with the laughter, applause, and hootings of the populace. Oh the discordant mind, that could first devise the sounding of warlike instruments, and discharge of engines of destruction in honour of the Prince of Peace!

Far be it from the translator to be so presumptuous as to attack the religion of any country or individual. But he is persuaded that the most zealous Catholic of either France, Germany, or Spain, would disapprove of the above ceremonies, which tend only to make religion a theatrical farce, and to draw upon it contempt and ridicule.

success. Their voices however are seldom clear; so that the expedient of Ulysses might sometimes be had recourse to, to prevent harsh sounds from offending the ears. The male individuals of the lower classes, are generally handsome in their persons, athletic, and capable of enduring heat and much labour; but they are liable to fits of ungovernable passion, which often hurry them into the commission of unpremeditated crimes. They are vehement in their gestures and language, and to the northern stranger they often have the appearance of being engaged in quarrel, when they are talking of nothing but the common occurrences of the day. The most remarkable feature in their character is temperance, a virtue which the nations in the south of Europe possess in an eminent degree. A rind of onion, glass of water, and Indian figs, generally form the frugal repast of the peasantry, who on festivals add an omlet, or salt fish dressed in oil. The women are not handsome; they generally have a languid and sallow appearance, probably more in consequence of the indolent lives they lead, than any thing else. The few however that are beautiful, appear formed in nature's choicest mould. They are indeed, when handsome, so prepossessing, that the stranger who beholds them will cease

to wonder at the great influence which the Sicilian Lais formerly had in Greece.[8]

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[8] When the translator was at Palermo, he made an excursion to Carini, a town twelve miles westward of the capital, to see if there remained any ruins of the ancient Hyccara, which gave birth to this celebrated beauty. Thucydides relates that Nicias touched at Hyccara, soon after Alcibiades had left Sicily, and that he plundered it, because it was hostile to the Segestans, whose cause the Athenians had espoused. He carried off Lais among the captives, who afterwards became so conspicuous in Greece, for her wit and intrigues. But Hyccara, instead of blooming with myrtles and roses, presents now nothing to the sight but a field overrun with thistles, and a few torn shrubs of the Indian fig. The rocks to the East of Carini, rise in the boldest and most picturesque forms, presenting subjects for pictures worthy of Salvator Rosa. The answer which Lais gave to the sculptor Myron, is prettily told by Ausonius. Two epigrams are preserved in the Anthologia, recording this distinguished courtezan, the first by Antipater, the second by Pompey the younger, who probably when in Sicily, relaxed his mind from the toils of war, by devoting his leisure hours occasionally to the Muses.

By Antipater.

Την και ἁμα χρυσῳ, και αλουργιδι, και συν ερωτι . και . ἐΐ.

Lais who eclips'd in mien,
And beauty's hue, the Cyprian queen,
Who once resistless charms display'd,
In gold and Tyrian robes array'd,
Lies here, the sea-girt Corinth's boast,
To Love's delights for ever lost.
Whom brighter than Pirenè's wave,
Mortals would for Venus have;

Though the Sicilians have submitted for so long a period to an arbitrary and imbecile government, occasions have presented themselves when they have resisted with becoming spirit the tyranny of their oppressors. In the vice-royalty of Fuligno, towards the end of the seventeenth century, when intolerable impo-

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Whose blithsome air, and venal joy,
Distinguish'd suitors did decoy;
More numerous than those that try'd
The virtue of the Spartan bride.
Nor less for her would Greece have fought,
Were not her charms too cheaply bought.
Yet, Lais! round thy grassy tomb
The crocus ne'er shall cease to bloom;
And gales of incense shall declare,
Where lies conceal'd thy glossy hair;
Thy ashes spikenard shall exhale;
Beside thee, Cytherea pale
Shall tear her cheeks consign'd to woe,
And Love despairing break his bow.

By Pompey the Younger.

Ἧτο καλον και πασιν ερασμιον ανθησασα . και . ἐΐ.

She to whom the Graces bow'd,
And gave the flow'rs themselves had won;
Whose cheeks with Love's vermilion glow'd,
No more beholds the rising sun.
She cry'd, as death upheld his dart,
Ye feasts, ye lovers' broils, adieu!
Ye jealousies, that rack the heart,
And lamp, to am'rous vigils true!

sitions were laid on corn, the Palermitans beset the viceregal palace, and did not leave it till the duties were taken off. The Marquis himself nearly fell a victim to the fury of the populace. Those celebrated vespers, unexampled in history, for the prompt conception and execution of the delivery of the island from foreign usurpers, are still fresh in the memory of the inhabitants; and General Acton informed the translator, that on a late landing of some French prisoners at Palermo, the children in the streets beset them with cries of "*i vesperi! i vesperi!*"

Literature and the Fine Arts.

The literature of the modern Sicilians has been chiefly confined to theology and archæology. St. Rosolia at Palermo, St. Agatha at Catania, and St. Lucia at Syracuse, have exercised the pens of many writers. But with respect to archæology and topography, the labours of Fazello, Arezzo, and Mirabella, are not merely celebrated in Sicily; they are known throughout Europe. Of those who have distinguished themselves by various science, Maurolico stands perhaps in the first rank. He was born at Messina, in the year 1494; and soon rose to such celebrity by his talents, as to attract

the notice and friendship of the most eminent men of his time, especially of Bembo, who dedicated to him a treatise on geography. The Cardinal Farnese, (whose house was the rendezvous of men of merit) invited Maurolico to Rome, at the same time sending a present of 500 ducats, which he declined, as well as the invitation, preferring a learned retirement to the splendour, noise, and smoke of Rome.—Though doubtless a man of very superior parts, he does not appear to have been untainted with the superstition of his times. And we accordingly find that he was acceptable to the Duke de Medina Celi, viceroy of Sicily, who admired him, not so much for his astronomical, as astrological knowledge. Don John of Austria too, previous to his sailing for Lepanto, consulted Maurolico, who thought he saw, or pretended to see *his star in the east.* Though his genius was chiefly bent to mathematical science, he has left a history of Sicily in Latin. He was also an orator and poet. He died at the advanced age of eighty, and his epitaph is conceived in these lines:

Te quoque Zancla tulit Maurolice, ne sit in omni
Clara Syracosio Sicelis ora seni.
Te pietas, te religio, te dia Mathesis
Extinctum, sophiæ te quoque flevit amor.
Parnassi et divæ, desertis fontibus, udis
Hic oculis, scissis et gemuêre comis.

Francesco Negro, a native of Piazza, a central town of Sicily, was esteemed a man of considerable talents for the age he lived in. Wishing to examine the eruption of Ætna, which burst forth in 1536, he approached too near the burning lava, and, like the elder Pliny, paid for his temerity with his life. The investigation of the phænomena of Ætna has been prosecuted with more success by the Abate Ferrara of Catania, who unites to considerable mineralogical knowledge, agreeable manners, and prepossessing attention to strangers.

The Abate Amico of Catania, has left a useful topographical dictionary of Sicily. The Ætnæan academy established in that city, has produced some men of science. Borelli and Carrera have written valuable narrations of the eruptions they each witnessed. The prince of Biscari must not be forgotten, who founded a magnificent musèum in the same city.

Of living authors, the Abate Blasi is the most distinguished. He has written a voluminous work on the Viceroys of Sicily, and is now engaged in another on the sovereigns, previous to the time of Queen Bianca, who first established the vice-regal dignity. Medicine is very superficially understood in Sicily. And how can it be otherwise, since it is mostly practised by mercenary quacks, who are meanly paid? The

lights which have been thrown on this science by the new discoveries in chemistry, are unknown to the Sicilian professors of medicine.

The discovery of the probable method used by the ancients for the preparation of the papyrus, is due to the ingenuity of Signor Landolina of Syracuse. This plant grows no where in Europe but in the fountain of La Pisma, the ancient Cyane.[9] It is the same as the Egyptian plant described by Pliny and Theophrastus. Landolina, having cut several stems of the plant into thin slices, submits them to the press, after arranging them in parallel order on a plane; the glutinous quality of the plant makes them adhere firmly, and the sheet is formed. He then applies a paste made of the crumb of bread, softened with boiling water, and sprinkled with vinegar. The sheet is thus left to dry in the shade. Afterwards the paste is taken off, and the sheet is again submitted to the press to remove the little irregularities, when it is fit for use, and found to answer the purposes of common writing paper. Landolina, having brought his experiments to a successful issue, has discovered that the text of Pliny, in speaking of

[9] Mr. Wilkins has given a faithful representation of the papyrus in his antiquities of Græcia Magna; so has Mr. Hayter, to whom the literary world is much indebted for the decypering of the Herculanean MSS.

the papyrus is corrupt, and he has restored the true reading.

Voulez vous connoitre le père Piazzi? said the Prince of Belmonte one evening to the translator. The astronomer named an hour on the following day, when he would be ready to receive him. He found him in his study, richly stocked with works of science, which was a small room contiguous to the observatory, over the viceregal palace. He was engaged in looking over some nautical tables, which had just been sent him from the astronomer royal in England. The translator was desirous of ascertaining his opinion relative to the state of astronomical science in Europe, as he was now closeted with a man, who from the sublimity of his pursuits, would in all probability be superior to any paltry prejudices. The Sicilian astronomer was very lavish of his praises of the French mathematicians, " but I do not think," he said, " that any men of transcendant merit have appeared in France since the revolution; all those who have distinguished themselves in philosophical pursuits, such as Lalande, Lagrange, La Place, Messier, and Delambre, were formed under the old regime." Generally speaking, he had not a high idea of the state of this science in England; but he acknowledged the merit of Maskelyne, and said, that astronomy

was more indebted to him, than any man living. The translator asked his opinion relative to astronomical treatises. He replied; "that of Lalande is a chaos, and contains a heterogeneous mixture of subjects; that of La Place is a prodigious effort of human ingenuity. His Mécanique Céleste will remain one of the proudest monuments of science. But it presupposes a depth of mathematical skill attainable only by a few. I consider La Place the first geometer in the world. We have not as yet a clear and purely scientific work on astronomy; it is still a desideratum."

Of observatories, he had not seen any so good as that at Oxford; next to which he preferred the observatory at Paris; and he expressed surprise that there was not a better at Cambridge, the principal residence of abstract science in England. "No nation," he observed, "comes near the English, in the manufacture of philosophical instruments; which are not only unrivalled for the fineness of the work, but also for the science displayed in the design." Laying his hand on an entire circle, the work of Ramsden, and which had occupied that instrument-maker for two years; "it was with this I ascertained that the Ceres Ferdinandea is a planet; three others have been discovered since, and from their minuteness, from the cir-

cumstance of each of their orbits being between Jupiter and Mars, and from there being little or no difference in their mean movements, I conjecture that they may be the fragments of a destroyed planet. I am the first who have paid attention to stars from the sixth to tenth magnitudes; before, they were neglected, or at best but cursorily surveyed." The translator said, that probably the serenity of the sky in Sicily afforded him greater facility in examining stars of small magnitude, than astronomers in more northern countries. To which he was far from agreeing, alleging, that though the atmosphere was more free from clouds, the sky was generally obscured by a haze, very unfavourable for astronomical observations. Padre Piazzi unites to profundity of science, a suavity of manners and politeness not often seen in those who devote their time to philosophical pursuits; and he brought to the translator's recollection the Rev. Thomas Jones, late senior tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, and whose memory is stored in the hearts of his numerous friends.

Many of the Sicilian nobles have rich collections of the medals of their country. There is a prodigiously fine one at Noto, belonging to Astudo; one on Mount Eryx, close to the temple of Venus Erycina; two at Catania, one

attached to the Musèum Biscari, and one in the palace of the prince of Pardo. There is also another belonging to the Cavaliere Calcagni at Palermo. The latter gentleman has published a treatise, in which he endeavours to prove that there were two kings of Syracuse, Phintias and Liparo, not noticed in history, deriving his arguments from a passage in the Menæchmi [10] of Plautus, and corroborating them by the testimony of some coins in his own collection. There are universities at Palermo and Catania, and clubs of improvisatori.

The translator during his tour had frequent occasion to notice the aptitude of the Sicilians for the imitative arts; their genius is but ill seconded by the government, which has neglected to establish an academy for painting and sculpture. The arts were not at so low an ebb formerly in Sicily; for painting was revived at Messina, about the same time that it was in Italy. Antonio d' Antonio was cotemporary with Cimabue, and they preserve in the Duomo at Messina, the martyrdom of St. Placido .by his hand. Antonello was descended

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[10] Non ego te novi, Menæchme, Moscho prognatum patre,
Qui Syracusis perhibêre natus esse in Siciliâ,
Ubi rex Agathocles regnator fuit, et iterum Phintia,
Tertium Liparo, qui in morte regnum Hieroni tradidit,
Nunc Hiero est. PLAUT.

from him, and leaving the school of his father, went to Rome, whither he was attracted by the fame of Masaccio. He excelled particularly in the painting of small Madonnas. Antonello painted two women laughing, which were much admired at Palermo; from thence he went to Naples, where seeing two pictures in the collection of King Alphonso, painted in oil, which had been sent him as a present by John of Bruges, he learned the secret from the inventor, and communicated it in Venice, where he died in the year 1501. On his tomb is this inscription:

Antonius, præcipuum Messanæ suæ, et Siciliæ totius ornamentum, hâc humo tegitur; non solùm fuit picturis, in quibus singulare artificium fuit, sed quod coloribus oleo miscendis, splendorem et perpetuitatem primus Italicæ picturæ contulit, summo semper artificum studio commendatus.

But Girolamo Alibrandi eclipsed all the painters of that period who flourished at Messina, and he has been called, not without reason, the Raphael of that city. He was born in the year 1470. He applied himself early to literary pursuits, and was intended by his parents for the law. His predilection for painting soon however developed itself, and he accordingly

frequented the then celebrated school of Antonio. On the death of his father, he went to Venice, where the fame of Antonello was yet fresh, from the method of painting in oil, introduced by that artist. Here he became acquainted with the celebrated Giorgione, with whom he lived on terms of intimacy, and as they were both skilled in music, they passed their days in painting together, and their evenings in singing, and playing on the violin. After remaining some time in Venice, he went to Milan, where he studied under Leonardo da Vinci, and acquired something of that painter's manner. He returned to Messina in 1514, but wishing to see Raphael d' Urbino, he took Rome in his way, carefully drawing every thing from the antique which he found. He died of the plague, which desolated Messina, in the year 1524. His master-piece, representing the purification of the Virgin, is preserved in the church della Candelora: it is indeed a fine production, both for the expression and relief of the figures, and Polidoro has not disdained to copy it. The plague which carried off Alibrandi was also fatal to other painters, and there was reason to fear that the art would have become extinct, had not Polidoro da Caravaggio taken up his residence in Messina, and established a new school. That painter, after the sacking of Rome in

1527, took refuge in Naples, and crossed to Messina, which he proposed making his future residence. He was employed to paint the triumphal arches, which were erected in that city, to compliment Charles V. on his return from his expedition to Tunis. Polidoro's school continued for some years in a flourishing condition, and some good artists were formed in it. But a Calabrian, by name Tonno, assassinated Polidoro in his sleep. Messina, a few years since, abounded with the works of this good painter; but several have been sold, and others destroyed by the earthquakes, which made such havoc in that city. The year of the birth of Agostino Scilla, a Messinese, is not recorded. His works are much esteemed in Italy, and bought with avidity. Scilla was a man of letters; he wrote a treatise on petrifactions, and was preparing a work on coins, when death intercepted his labours.

Pietro Novelli, more generally known under the name of Il Morrealese, from Morreale, his birth-place, holds deservedly the highest rank among the Sicilian painters. He passed his early years at Palermo, where he was initiated in the rudiments of his art; he then went to Rome, where he improved rapidly, and on his return to Sicily, embellished many of the churches with his works. In the riots of 1647,

which took place at Palermo, as he was accompanying the city-guard on horseback, he received a musket-ball in his shoulder, which proved fatal. The connoisseurs in Sicily, are very lavish of their praises of Il Morrealese. He is indeed to be admired for that force of colouring which characterizes the styles of Ribera, Solimena, Il Calabrese, and the other artists of the Neapolitan school. And if he had paid more attention to the study of the antique, he might have stood the test of comparison with at least the second-rate artists of Italy. His best production is in the Benedictine monastery at Morreale, for which he was only paid a sum equivalent to ten English pounds. It represents St. Benedict breaking the bread, and distributing it to the several orders of knighthood under his protection. Morrealese has introduced himself in the habit of the order of Calatrava, and his daughter is on her knees in the act of lifting a child from the ground. There is a great sweetness in both of these figures, and the gusto of them is very like Guercino.

Giovanni di Anselmo, was the first who invented the art of cutting cameos on shells. He was a native of Trapani, the inhabitants of which town still cultivate that branch of sculpture with great success. The shell generally em-

ployed is the *murex tritonius*. It is found in great abundance on the coast between Melazzo and Cefalù. The thickness of the shell is a line and a half, often less, and is composed of three layers easily distinguished; the exterior is of the thickness of two hairs, and is marked with spiral lines of a tawny colour; the second is of a milky whiteness, and considerably harder than the first; and the third is of a bluish white, and of a softer consistency than the second.

This art soon obtained in Italy; and we have daily experience of the perfection to which it is carried in Rome, where the professors imitate with the greatest success, the antique models on the smallest scale. But experience proves that shells found in the East Indies answer better than the Sicilian.

Antonio Gaggino is the chief of the Sicilian sculptors, and he has left so many works of rare merit behind him, that some account of this artist may not probably be deemed uninteresting. He was born at Messina in the year 1480. His father, Domenico, was also a sculptor. Antonio, having studied the principles of his art under his father, went to Rome, and there became a disciple of Michael Angelo. He frequented at the same time the school of Raphael, in which he acquired true taste, and correct de-

sign. He made such progress in sculpture, that he assisted Michael Angelo in the execution of some of the bassi-rilievi, which decorate the tomb of Julius the second. On his return to Sicily, he made Palermo his future residence, and embellished it with his labours. He died at an advanced age, A. D. 1571. Gaggino enjoyed a high reputation at a period when his art had attained a great degree of perfection, through the transcendant genius of Michael Angelo. His faces have a fine expression; but he excelled particularly in his draperies. It is related of him, that when Michael Angelo had cut a naked Christ for the church Della Minerva at Rome, he replied to those, who wished it to be covered; "If you choose to clothe it, commit it to Gaggino." [11] The finest of his works are the numerous statues in the cathedral of Palermo. His St. Mathias is his master-piece. There is in the expression of the face, a certain divine air, which it is the privilege of genius alone to bestow on works of art. He executed in bronze, the well-known statue of a slave extracting the thorn from his foot, and added the inscription:

"*Opus Antonii Gaggini.*"

The son of Gaggino was also a sculptor; he

[11] Si volete vestirlo, mandatelo pure al Gaggino di Palermo.

has been commemorated in the following epigram, happily turned by Carrera, a Sicilian.

Gaginus fato propior, da marmore condi
Nate, ait, et sculpas tu patris effigiem.
Excessit: natus lacrymans dum sculpsit, imago
A me cælanda est hæc tibi jure pater;
In te alii æternum vivunt; tu vivis in illis;
In quo vivit opus nobile, vivit amor.

Modica gave birth to Tommaso Campailla, esteemed in Sicily a distinguished literary character, and poet of no inconsiderable merit. He was born in the year 1668. His mental powers did not soon develop themselves, and he was looked upon as a boy of dull capacity. At the age of sixteen, he went to the university of Catania, where he was initiated in the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, and employed his leisure hours in the study of poetry and medicine. He afterwards returned to Modica, and there composed his philosophical poem entitled Adamo, which may be considered as an exposition of the Cartesian philosophy. The plot of this poem consists in the archangel Raphael instructing Adam in the various departments of human science. Campailla had laid hold of our Milton, and the best parts of his poem consist of translations, or very free imitations of the English original. Whatever privileges poets may claim, the critic will hardly

excuse the archangel, in the fourth canto, conducting our forefather into a library, to overhaul the folios and quartos composed by the literary part of his posterity. Doubtless the archangel's wings were brought into play to brush away the dust and cobwebs necessarily adhering to a great many. Had Campailla been content with philosophical pursuits, his fame probably would have been more secure. For he published a good treatise on the motion of animals, which with his Adamo, he sent to the Royal Society of London, who acknowledged his merit, and accordingly elected him one of their members. When the philosopher, who had "every virtue under heaven," travelled in Sicily, he became acquainted with Campailla, and sent him, on his return to England, a letter expressive of his friendship, with a copy of Newton's works. Campailla died at Modica,[12] after devoting a life entirely to literature, in the year 1740. His sonnets in Italian are admired in Sicily; and we may conclude, that he was a man of real merit, or Berkeley would not have formed a friendship with him.

Anna Maria Arduina, a Messinese lady, distinguished herself by various accomplishments.

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[12] Modica is admirably situated for philosophic retirement. It stands at the bottom of a deep ravin, surrounded nearly on all sides by steep declivities.

She was afterwards Princess of Piombino, and her sonnets have been praised by Crescimbeni.

The Abate Giovanni Meli is the only one who has cultivated poetry with any success in the Sicilian dialect. He has translated Don Quixote into verse. *Don Quixote in ottava rima!* The translator has not had the courage to read this production; but has been informed by those who have, that it will not compensate the trouble. It is however worth while to transcribe a few stanzas of his pastorals, not only as a specimen of the Sicilian dialect, but also to shew how his muse sports in Syracusan numbers. And the reader probably will not fail to remark, that the dialect of Sicily is appropriate to the pastoral; having much the same affinity to the Italian, that the Doric has to the other dialects of Greece.

Dameta canta.

Sti [13] silenzii, sta verdura,
Sti muntagni, sti vallati,
L' ha criatu la Natura,
Pri li cori innamurati.

Lu susurru di li frundi,
Di lu sciumi lu lamentu,
L' aria, l' ecu chi rispundi,
Tuttu spira sentimentu, &c.

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[13] Questi.

There are some pretty stanzas in his idyll, entitled Daphnis:

Dafni canta.

O bianca lucidissima
Luna, chi senza velu
Sulcannu vai pri l'aria
Li campi di lu celu.

Tu dissipi li tenebri
Cu la serena facci;
Li stiddi[14] impallidiscinu
Appena che tu affacci.

Li placidi silenzii
All' umidu tò raggiu
Di la natura parranu
L' amabili linguaggiu.

A tia l' amanti teneru
Cu palpiti segreti,
La dulurusa storia
Mestissimu ripeti.

E mentri amari lagrimi
La dogghia[15] sua produci;
Tu spruzzi a la mestizia
Lu sentimentu duci.

Quannu una negghia[16] pallida
Ti vidi pri davanti;
Sù[17] li suspiri flebili
Di lu miu cori amanti.

---

[14] Stelle. [15] Doglia. [16] Nebbia.
[17] Sono.

Pri mia la bedda e splendida
Tua facci si sculura;
Jiu, jiu lu miserabili
'Ngramagghiu [18] la natura.

Pri mia li friddi vausi [19]
Supra l' alpestri munti
D'orruri e di mestizia
Si cuprinu la frunti.

Cu lamintusu strepitu
L'acqui a lu miu duluri
Chiancennu, [20] si sdirrupanu
Dintra li vaddi oscuri.

"The sound is an echo to the sense" in the two last lines; and the idyll is closed with the following poetic stanza.

Dissi l' afflittu Dafni, e l' aspri trunchi
'Ntisiru [21] dintra insolitu trimuri;
Scossi lu munti la ferrigna basi;
La terra di nov' umbri si cupriu;
L' umidu raggiu di la bianca luna
'Ntisi [22] d' iddu pietà, ed impallidiù.

Receipt for the Vapours, by Meli.

Recipe quattru amici menzi pazzi,
Un ripostu, 'na chianca, e 'na cantina,
Vinu a zibbeffu, trunzi, e ramurazzi,
Pasta, sosizza, e carni sarvaggina,

---

[18] Attristo. [19] Balze. [20] Piangendo.
[21] Sentirono. [22] Si mosse di lui a pietà.

Scattagnetti, liuti, e citarazzi;
Balla, cavarca, opra, nuota, cammina,
Sempri frusciu ad aremi, e fagghiu a mazzi,
Sempri testa vacanti, e panza china.

With noisy friends in number four,
Sit where of eatables there's store;
Eat cabbage, radish, when you dine,
And sip your beaker of mull'd wine;
Eat wild fowl, sausages, and pies,
And from the table when you rise,
Fail not to take due exercise.
To sound of piercing flageolet,
Harp, or cracking castanet,
Walk, or kick your heels about:
Take ball, bath, opera, and rout.
Always of money have enough;
Fear nor cane, nor fisty-cuff.
A good long purse, and empty brains
Will ease you of your chronic pains.

The Abate Meli is also the author of some elegies, dithyrambics, and anacreontics; which though containing some happy thoughts, are admired, more perhaps from their being the only productions of the kind in the Sicilian dialect, than their intrinsic merit.

Sicelides Musæ, paulò majora canamus!

With respect to architecture, notwithstanding that the Sicilians have before their eyes the beautiful models existing at Segesta, Selinus,

and Agrigentum, the abuses of this noble art are really extraordinary.

The best materials abound almost every where, and the numerous columns found among Grecian ruins would save much labour and expense in the construction of buildings. It causes regret to behold the fine granite columns taken from the theatre at Catania so ill disposed, supporting broken entablatures, and every style of deformity, which Borromini and his stye could devise, in the front of the cathedral. The interior is however very handsome, airy, and elegant. It may be questioned whether there be any city in the world that exhibits such magnificent materials for buildings, and makes withal so indifferent a figure, as the capital. The cathedral is a large pile, and would have presented a valuable specimen of Norman-Saracenic architecture, had not some additions in the Italian style been injudiciously added. The wings are separated from the nave by two rows of arches, which are supported by eighty columns of Egyptian granite all of one piece, and of a fine polish. The church of St. Joseph is remarkable for the richness of its altar, inlaid in Mosaic, and presenting to view thirty-four columns of Sicilian marble each single blocks, and thirty-six feet in height. These magnificent shafts are ill-disposed, and disfigured by capitals

in a corrupt taste. The Messinese, notwithstanding that their city is so liable to earthquakes, have already begun to rebuild their Palazzata with columns of Segestan Doric, and very handsome it will be, if the design, which the translator has in his possession, be carried into execution.

The vice-regal palace is a vast irregular pile; but if uninteresting from its want of architectural symmetry, it will not fail to attract the attention of the lover of art from the choice pictures which it contains. Hither has been removed the flower of the collection, which in a happier period of the Neapolitan court, decorated the palace at Capo di Monte. The most conspicuous for their merit are as follows:

By Raphael.

A holy family with the infant St. John kneeling: in his very best manner. Another with the cradle of the infant Jesus: fine, but inferior to the first. A Madonna and child painted on wood.

Another holy family, of which there was a duplicate in the Orleans collection. In the works of Raphael, comment is for the most part superfluous. It can admit of little but general praise.

By Leonardo da Vinci.

A Madonna and child, with that male character of beauty so peculiar to himself.

The St. John pointing to the words "*Ecce Agnus Dei.*"

By Titian.

The well-known Danaë. The innumerable copies of this picture so greedily purchased argue sufficiently its excellence. The delicacy of the tints is perhaps unequalled.

A penitent Magdalen. Titian appears to have valued himself on this production, for he has inscribed his name on one side in large gold letters.

An excellent portrait of Pope Paul the third.

By Michael Angelo.

A small copy of the last judgment painted in the Cappella Sistina at Rome. In spite of the greatness of conception, and the profound knowledge of anatomy displayed in this far-famed painting, do not the devils, some tugging the damned into the bottomless pit, others thumping them with oars, some driving their grotesque griffins' claws into the bodies of those

who have inherited the wages of sin; do not they, I say, inspire the spectator with sentiments of disgust and derision, rather than of veneration and fear? It is difficult to contemplate the bottom of this picture without feeling as much inclination to laugh as when we see the devils, in Hogarth's strolling company, fighting for a pot of porter.

> O Michelangiol non vi parlo in giuoco:
> Questo che dipingeste è un gran giudizio,
> Ma del *giudizio* voi ne ivete poco. *Salvator Rosa.*

How different is the great painter of Urbino, who could express grace without affectation, and greatness without extravagance!

By Rubens.

A very good portrait of a grandee of Spain, with that lustre of colouring, and freedom of stroke, which are the characteristics of the chief of the Flemish school.

By Domenichino.

The guardian angel protecting the young Tobit from an evil spirit. Domenichino is unrivalled in his children, and this picture tends to confirm his merit in that particular. The drapery of the angel is ill-managed.

By Parmeggiano.

A portrait in full length of his mistress. He has known how to preserve his accustomed grace, though the figure is strait and the face painted in full; but there is a notorious defect in the management of the right shoulder.

A Madonna and child. The Virgin has her hair *à la grecque*, and is applying her finger to the child's mouth. Parmeggiano in this picture has nearly transgressed the very thin partition which separates grace from affectation.

A child reading the alphabet. A striking proof that a happy expression of delicacy is the leading trait of Parmeggiano's pencil.

By Annibal Caracci.

A Virgin and dead Christ. The foreshortening of the Virgin's arm is so masterly, that it cannot escape the admiration of those who can estimate the high merit of the Caraccis, who were able to exhibit in their works the excellencies of the Roman, Venetian, and Florentine schools.

By Corregio.

La Madonna del coniglio. Raphael himself does not speak to the heart so sensibly as Corregio. He is the Horace of painting.

——— admissus circum præcordia ludit.

By Schidone.

His Charity. In which by a singular management of light, he has acquired the merit of the invention of a new style of painting.

A reclining Cupid. I have read somewhere: "*tornò al terzo ciel dolce ridendo,*" which may serve as a comment to this picture.

By Claud Lorrain.

Diana and her nymphs. Colder than Claud in general. But there is a poetic charm in this picture which no one but Claud could surely express. As for the trees, they live, they sprout, they strike root, they grow.

To this palace they have also transported some of the most valuable of the ancient Herculanean pictures; and from these rare specimens of art, it is, I think, allowable to infer, that the ancient artists were capable of displaying in their works, correctness of drawing;[23] sometimes, though rarely, an expression of majesty,[24] and the sublimer affections of the mind;[25] and a management of drapery,[26] and

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[23] Antichità di Ercolano. Tom. i. tav. 2.

[24] Ibid. tav. 5. [25] Ibid. tav. 8, 13.

[26] Tom. iv. tav. 1. fig. 2.

delineation of graceful attitude,[27] surpassed by none of the moderns, Raphael and Corregio alone excepted. They probably only yielded to the moderns in colouring, the knowledge of perspective, and force of expression. The Theseus slaying the Minotaur, and figure of Achilles,[28] are worthy the conception of Raphael; and the Faun embracing a Nymph[29] would not disgrace the pencil of Guido.

The building in the botanic garden at Palermo, the work of a French architect, would have been the chastest perhaps in Sicily, had not the artist engrafted on the capitals and frize some Parisian conceits. The French certainly surpass us in architecture, but their vanity will not allow them to be satisfied with the pure specimens of Greece. They must have recourse to their fleurs-de-lys and other devices, which are often ostentatiously displayed, and only serve to bewilder the eye. Of late, however, they have made some happy efforts to revive the genuine spirit of the Grecian models.

Horticulture is as much neglected in Sicily as her sister agriculture. The Capuchins however have many gardens in a rude picturesque

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[27] Antichità di Ercolano. Tom. i. tav. 18. E undici seguenti, called i ballatrici di Ercolano.

[28] Ibid. tom. i. tav. 8. [29] Ibid. tav. 15.

state, attached to their monasteries. That at Syracuse is unrivalled for its singularity, having been the identical Latomiæ alluded to in the last pleading against Verres. That at Piazza is also very picturesque, and planted with roses, poplars, cypresses, and pines. The public garden, called the Villa Giulia at Palermo, merits a particular description. It is laid out in avenues formed by orange trees completely covering trellis-work; between these avenues are parterres planted with a great variety of odoriferous shrubs. There are also several fountains which play perpetually in the hottest weather. Of these, there is one of far better design than the rest. On a rock is seated a colossal statue, representing the genius of Palermo, surrounded by his attributes, and the insignia of the city, which it is said were granted by the Romans for the assistance they derived from the Panormitans in the first Punic war, and in the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus. The purest water falls in three sheets from this rock, and fills a bason. Marabiti, who carved this statue, has deservedly acquired the repute of being the best sculptor in Sicily next to Gaggino. Towards the centre of this garden, they have lately erected four cenotaphs in honour of Stesichorus, Diodorus, Epicharmus, and Charondas. And may the remembrance of those illustrious men

serve to rouse the dormant energies and literary spirit of the modern Sicilians!

What a country is Sicily for the exhibition of landscape-gardening on the best principles! Those princes who possess such extensive estates, and who would take advantage of some spots irrigated with living springs, and adopt the method of laying out their grounds, which Jacob Moor has displayed in the gardens of the Villa Borghése at Rome, might make of their domains paradises indeed!

Sicily exhibits some specimens of Saracenic architecture: there are remains of a fortress built by the Arabs in the island at Syracuse. Near Palermo stands the Saracenic castle of La Zisa, which is thus described in an Arabic manuscript, preserved in the monastery of Morreale: "Near the city, a copious source of water springs, which has been enclosed by a wall, and served for the fattening of fish of different kinds. The Arabs call it Albuhira. This piece of water is ornamented with small barks, painted and adorned with gold and silver. The king occasionally embarked here with his concubines, for the sake of recreation. In the royal gardens there is a large palace, the walls of which glitter with gold and silver. There is also a tessellated pavement, representing in Mosaic, the different productions of the earth."

This castle is still to be seen, but in a dilapidated state. In the vice-regal palace, the present chapel served as a mosque to the Emirs of Palermo, and is a very curious specimen of the Saracenic style. The cathedrals of Morreale, and Castro-Giovanni, are particularly interesting; they are composed of a style partly Saracenic, and partly Norman; or what is generally termed Gothic. They serve to add weight to the theory of the late Rev. George Whittington, [30] relative to the origin of Gothic architecture in the East; whence it was, in all probability, brought by the Normans, and by them propagated and improved in most European countries. The villa of the Prince of Belmonte at Acqua Santa near Palermo, is indisputably the handsomest building in Sicily. Nor is it less remarkable for the interior, than exterior elegance; some of the floors are inlaid in Mosaic, with the choicest Sicilian marbles; and here is a fine portrait by Rubens, a head of the Deity by Correggio, and a Galatea by Guido. A hazardous subject for a man even of such talents as Guido to undertake, when it is remembered how beautifully she has been conceived by Raphael in the Chigi palace at Rome. Here there is a cast of the Hebe of Canova. The

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[30] See Whittington on Gothic architecture.

walls of one of the apartments are most classically painted by Velasquez, a living artist, and represent, *in fresco*, the various incidents of the fifth Æneid, the scene of which, it will be remembered, lies in Sicily. It is from this spot that Palermo and its vale, poetically called *La Conca d'oro*, is seen to the greatest advantage. But it is no longer admired by its accomplished owner, who has fallen a victim to the capricious tyranny of a female Verres. Though racked with rheumatic pains in his damp dungeon in Pantellaria, he doubtless derives consolation from the reflection, that if he was unable to effect, he at least wished for a reform in the government of his country. [31]

Abuses of the Sicilian Government.

There is nothing that conveys so pointed a stigma on the present order of things in Sicily, as a comparison of the ancient and modern po-

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[31] Since writing the above, the Prince of Belmonte has been released from confinement, and restored to his country, to the great joy of the Palermitans. A brilliant career is laid open for him to pursue. The eyes of all Europe are turned towards that parliament in which he presides. May it not disgrace itself by those *half measures*, by that *shew* of efficiency, which, it is but too justly feared, are the characteristics of the Spanish cortes!

pulation. The census taken A. D. 1798, makes the population of the whole island amount to only 1,055,536 souls, or according to the Abate Balsamo, 1,700,000;[32] so that the number of inhabitants scarcely surpasses that of ancient Agrigentum and Syracuse; each of which cities contained, according to Diodorus, 800,000 inhabitants. But it is worth while to enumerate the causes of the diminished population, and the abuses which affect the prosperity of modern Sicily.

1. And the chief must be considered the little attention paid to the encouragement of agriculture by the government. The plough and other implements of husbandry retain a rude and simple form; the grain is separated from the chaff by the treading of cattle, and the burning of the weeds and stubble in the autumn is the only manure in use. In spite of the tributes, with which Sicily was harassed when a Roman province, agriculture was in a far more flourishing condition than at present, even if we draw a comparison from an equal portion of population. We learn from Cicero,[33] that pursuant to the tributary system established by Hiero, Rome exacted from the Sicilians

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[32] Viaggio fatto in Sicilia, p. 304.

[33] Orat. Verrin. de re frument. passim.

eight hundred thousand bushels of corn annually, which was a tenth of the produce of the island; that if it was necessary to exact more, the owners of land were indemnified by money; that according to the law of Hiero, the number of persons employed in agriculture was annually registered; that the lands were divided into small portions; that before the prætorship of Verres, the cultivation of an acre was allotted to a considerable number of Sicilians, who never relinquished their work. We may then conclude, that though the prætors and quæstors were allowed respectively such large shares, as must necessarily have weakened the energies of the landlords and husbandmen, the ancient Sicilians carried agriculture to a high degree of perfection; and that if they suffered on the one hand, from severe tributes imposed by the Romans, they gained on the other, from the activity with which tillage was pursued. How often did the translator, as he passed, in a lettiga, the uncultivated tracts in the interior, picture to his imagination the indignation of the Roman orator, could he now witness the neglected state of the lands! Would he not exclaim, that imbecility and supineness in a government, are attended by as great evils as the rapacity of that Verres, against whom he has so vehemently declaimed? Were it possible

for him to traverse the Leontine fields, as he did nineteen hundred years ago, would he not exclaim, in the words which he applied to that very tract, "*In uberrimâ Siciliæ parte, Siciliam quærebam?*" Nothing proves more the disordered state of Sicily, than the insecurity and alarm in which the peasantry live. In the Val di Noto, the translator fell in with companies of reapers accoutred with their swords and muskets; their master on horseback standing beside them armed cap-à-pied, presenting more the appearance of a sudden muster against invasion, or the fear of an Apronius, or Heracleo, than of the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. The shepherds, unlike those in the days of Daphnis, who only taught the woods to resound to the music of their pipes, now blow a warlike horn, to muster their companions in case of an attack, and instead of a crook, shoulder a blunderbuss.

2. *Latifundia perdidêre Italiam, jamverò et provincias*, says Pliny; "*et perdunt Siciliam*," he would add, were he now alive. It does not require the acumen of an Adam Smith to prove that the occupation of a great extent of land by a few possessors, is a severe check to the promotion of agriculture, and its consequence, increase of population. Estates, surpassing in size those of the greatest landholders in England,

are possessed by the Princes Butera, Cattolica, Paternò, and perhaps a few others. But it is more especially the mode of tenure, that impedes the progress of agriculture. Leases are renewed every six years, nor is it lawful for the owner to let his lands for a longer period than nine. What inducement can the tenant have to undertake works of solid improvement, if he is subject to be dispossessed of his tenement at the expiration of so short a term? There exists also a pernicious law, which enforces the owners of estates to sell their stock in the town or village contiguous to their property. This institution may have originated from the laudable motive of preventing that town or village from suffering want. But on the other hand, the owner of stock near a mean village sees the occupier of other lands selling articles of equal value at a higher rate in a richer town. He becomes discouraged, and instead of using exertions to surpass his neighbour in the fineness of his stock, (which would be the case, could he send his goods to the same market) fosters only heart-burnings and jealousies against him. The transfer of landed property is severely taxed; and the heir on succeeding to his estate, has the privilege of displacing the tenants before the expiration of the term of their leases.

3. The perplexed state of the civil code

must be considered as another source of disorder. Sicily is certainly indebted to the Emperor Frederic the Second, and Alphonso the Wise, for many excellent institutions; but laws of a contrary tendency to these have been enacted by sovereigns of different dynasties, and the old ones not effectively repealed. The consequence is, that cases frequently occur in the courts of judicature, wherein the judges are thrown into dilemmas, and wherein their sentences are but too often arbitrary.

4. The magistrates are not paid by the government in Sicily; and they are changed annually. The short period of their remaining in office, and their only emolument proceeding from the claimants, lay open a wide field for corruption. Here is a specimen of the vigour and authority of these *Pisones Frugis!* A few years since a party of brigands entered Chiaramonte, a considerable town of the Val di Noto, plundered the dwellings of the inhabitants, and inspired terror every where, not by a nocturnal attack, but in broad day, in the very eyes of the magistrates, of the people! The skulls of many criminals which the translator saw suspended in cages before the prison-gates of Calatagirone, do not deter the Sicilians from the commission of crimes, which but too often go unpunished.

Here is another instance of the efficient administration of the laws by these praise-worthy magistrates. He who would travel securely in Sicily, must be informed that it is necessary to hire *campieri*, or chiefs of banditti to accompany him, and this must be understood as not merely necessary to be done in villages situated in remote and inaccessible parts of the mountains, but in the principal towns, nay, in the capital itself. The reason of this expedient is, that in case the traveller should fall in with these free-booters, they may suffer him to pass unmolested, which is always done, if he be in company with one of their tribe. This was a scheme of the viceroy Villa-Franca, who being unable to clear Sicily of banditti, came to terms with them, and proposed that they should adopt an uniform, and serve as guides for travellers, and escorts for the transportation of merchandize. For the most part these campieri let horses and mules, and they are generally very civil, and faithful to those who commit themselves to their charge. Nevertheless, many of these fellows correspond but too well with the description given of some of them by the Abate Balsamo;[34] which the translator bore witness to, as he fell in with a troop near the ruins of

[34] Viaggio fatto in Sicilia, p. 84.

Camarina;[35] and which made him imagine that though in the Val di Noto, he was still in the *Val Demone.* " *Erano grandi, robusti, e di figura*

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[35] The solitary chapel of S. Maria di Camarana, was the cella of a temple belonging to the ancient Camarina. There exists also a triangular tower, probably built by the Saracens with the materials of the old city. This city was known more anciently under the name of Hyperia, and is the country of Psaumis, who has been immortalized by Pindar. Beneath the hill where the city stood, the lake is still seen nearly overgrown with weeds, which the oracle forbade the inhabitants to fill up in this memorable line:

Μη κινει Καμαριναν, ακινητος γαρ αμεινων.

The Hipparis is so inconsiderable a stream, that the translator waded across it at the mouth; but commemorated as it is by Pindar's muse, " its noisy billows through the world resound."

Near Camarina an abundant source of water springs, and immediately fills a large antique bason. This probably was the celebrated fountain of Diana, and from its purity, quite emblematic of the goddess to whom it was consecrated. There is an open stone bath about fifty paces from the source, but the stream, instead of flowing into it, now irrigates an orchard of the finest orange and lemon trees. Solinus relates of this fountain, that unless the water be poured by the hand of a chaste person it will not mix with wine, which is alluded to by Priscianus Rhemnius, a commentator of Dionysius Periegetes, in the following lines:

Plurima sunt istic totum memoranda per orbem;
Dianæ fons est: Camarinæ gignitur undâ:

anzichè no gentilesca; avevano torva la fronte, ed il ciglio; ardito, furbo, mobilissimo l' occhio." Behold also the effectual and active attention of these magistrates to the comforts of the poor! There is no church in Sicily, where the avenues are not beset with objects so loathsome, so morbid, that the stranger is filled with horror at the spectacle.

"*Eccelenza, morto di fame,*" are the words constantly rung in his ears; and the translator can safely affirm, that he never saw either on the shores of the Euxine, or in the boggy swamps of Finland, any thing to be compared with the wretchedness of the Sicilian beggars, who perambulate the towns

Quædam simulachra modis pallentia miris!

Their condition conveys a bitter reproof, when it is remembered that they inhabit a country abounding with the choicest productions of nature, once the residence and delight

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Quem si quis manibus non castis hauserit, unquam
Lætifico tristis non miscet pocula Baccho.

All the fam'd wonders of that shore recount;
From Camarina's wave springs Dian's fount.
Whoso belongs not to the goddess' train,
Weds the coy water to the wine in vain.

Doubtless this fountain was a source of merriment to the gossips of Agrigentum and Syracuse.

of Ceres herself, where the population is so inconsiderable, and where the lands are for the most part left so waste, "*ut ager ipse lugere, ac penè desiderare dominos videretur*," to use the emphatic words of Cicero.[36]

5. Another source of disorder in Sicily springs from the too great preponderance of the priesthood both in number and authority; which is attended by as bad consequences as the same power exercised by certain sects in England, and perhaps more. The translator has often seen women thrown into hysterics in the churches, as they have unburdened their consciences to a fanatical priest, who dictated to them the terms of their acceptance with God, with as much assurance and composure, as if he was just descended from the councils of the Most High. Kissing Madonnas, telling beads, and bowing to exvotos, are powerful opiates for the mind, and much practised in Sicily.

6. The too great number of the monastic orders of both sexes professing celibacy, must

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[36] There are few parts of Sicily, except the neighbourhood of Castrogiovanni, which reminded the translator of his being in the island of Ceres. There are, it is true, some cultivated tracts about Girgenti, Syracuse, Modica, and the delightful vale where the ancient Parthenicon stood; but the rest of the island may be considered as nearly left to nature, who indeed has been too bountiful to Sicily!

also be enumerated among the existing evils. The translator was not successful in procuring an exact account of their number, but he has heard it roughly computed at upwards of two hundred thousand. A vast proportion for a population not amounting to two millions!

7. Not less subversive of order in Sicily, are the immunities granted to criminals who escape justice, by taking refuge in the churches, the catacombs, the episcopal palace, and the rector's house, provided it be attached to a church. But his present Majesty has been aware of the destructive tendency of this privilege; and it is now only extended to debtors, and persons guilty of small offences.

8. The number of festivals, and the inordinate expense of religious ceremonies, must be mentioned as prejudicial to the welfare of Sicily. There are eighty-six days in the year devoted to festivity and idleness. It is an erroneous idea that many holidays augment the happiness of the labouring classes of society. If one day in the week be devoted to a suspension of labour, the working part of the community will experience more enjoyment than if there be two holidays or more. And a comparison of the English and Sicilian mechanic, or labourer, will prove this assertion. The former, who inhabits a country not so conducive to cheerful-

ness as Sicily, appears in general animated, and enjoys his hours of relaxation on a Sunday; but the Sicilian, in his numerous holidays, after the pageantry of his religion is over, stands gaping in the streets, or employs himself in a disgusting operation, and appears not even capable of attaining that negative state of happiness known to the Turk.

9. Pernicious are the relaxed morals which pervade all classes of society in Sicily. But it is left for those who are as great as Cicero, to launch forth their thunders against the morals of the Sicilians. [37]

Such the translator considers the principal causes of the decline of the prosperity of this celebrated island. [38] And perhaps the fault should be attributed partly to the imbecile government, and partly to the circumstances of its political situation. For if in ancient times, Sicily has suffered from the ambition of the most powerful nations, and the iniquities of Roman prætors, it has incurred great disadvantages in modern, from the frequent vicissitudes which the government has experienced. Since

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[37] Those who undertake it would do well to weigh attentively the two first sections of one of the Verrine pleadings. Orat. Verrin. lib. iii. act. 2.

[38] Insula totius orbis terrarum celeberrima. KLUVER.

the expulsion of the Saracens, the Sicilians have submitted to no less than eight dynasties. [39] It is

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[39] Counts of Sicily.

A. D.

1070. Roger I. conqueror of the Saracens.
1101. Simon.
1105. Roger II.

Kings of Sicily.

1130. Roger II.
1154. William I.
1166. William II.
1189. Tancred.
1195. William III.
1195. Constance, who married Henry of Swabia.
1198. Frederic.
1250. Conrade.
1254. Manfred.
1265. Conradine.
1265. Charles of Anjou.
1282. Peter of Aragon.
1286. James.
1296. Frederic II.
1321. Peter II.
1342. Lewis.
1374. Frederic III.
1398. Mary.
1402. Martin I.
1409. Martin II.
1410. Ferdinand I. of Castile.
1416. Alphonso the Great.
1458. John.
1479. Ferdinand the Catholic.
1516. Joanna.

obvious how prejudicial such frequent changes in the administration must be to a state, wherein the rulers, actuated by different views and different prejudices, institute plans of improvement shortly to be disregarded, or overset, and which, however beneficial, have been prevented from taking the desired effect.

Sicily consumed by a disease similar to the atrophy in the human body, with the circulation of her nutritive juices stopped, with her nerves palsied, and her vitals preyed upon, cries loudly for such a physician as the Marquis of Caraccioli, who began to remedy the disorders of his country, by levelling a death-blow at the inquisition. And perhaps the best method of effecting a gradual and salutary change would be:

1516. Charles V. of Austria and of Spain.
1556. Philip II.
1598. Philip III.
1621. Philip IV.
1665. Charles II.
1700. Philip V. Bourbon.
1713. Victor Amadeus of Savoy.
1720. Charles VI. of Austria.
1734. Charles III. Bourbon.
1759. Ferdinand III. of Sicily, and IV of Naples, his present Majesty.

Houses of Normandy, Swabia, Anjou, Aragon, Castile, Austria, Savoy, and Bourbon; in all eight.

By sending to England or France, a certain number of Sicilians at an early age, there to be educated; and on their return to Sicily, to establish seminaries, placing them at the head. This is a step towards improvement, which might be entered upon immediately without risk. The other desiderata, and which can only be the work of time, are as follows:

1st. The greater and more equal distribution of landed property, and the establishment of a more unfettered mode of tenure.

2d. The institution of agricultural societies in the capital, Catania, Messina, Noto, and Calatagirone, all of which cities are inhabited by rich landholders.

3d. The residence of the nobility on their estates as in England, and their taking interest in the amelioration of the various productions of their domains.

4th. The dissolution, or diminution at least, of the monasteries and nunneries, the transformation of several into hospitals, or manufactories. The retrenchment of the revenues of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, especially of the archbishops, whose incomes are more inordinately out of proportion to the resources of the country, than even those of Spain.

5th. The institution of an academy of arts at Catania, and in the capital.

6th. The revision and reform of the national code.

But before any permanent advantages can be obtained through the measures of a wise and vigorous head, it is evident that a new impulse must be given to the minds of the Sicilians; they must break from the leading-strings of their priests,[40] and view religion with a temper of mind, as remote on the one hand from bigotry, as on the other from indifference. In fine, before any effectual change for the better can take place, those absurd and priest-ridden prejudices must be exterminated, which in all ages, and in all countries, have presented the strongest barriers to national prosperity. Then, and not till then, may the Sicilians exclaim in the words, which a friend of the Abate Balsamo used: "*sara tutto altro paese que or' e, la nostra bella Sicilia.*"[41]

They must endeavour to imitate their ancestors, of whom so fine a portrait has been

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[40] It is not with Sicily as with England, where a respectable and exemplary ecclesiastic possesses a proper but not overbearing influence. In Sicily, the priesthood interfere in domestic concerns, depress the energies of the inhabitants, and that without even having the merit of setting active examples of virtue, or presenting the august and all-eloquent spectacle of the followers of La Trappe.

[41] Balsamo Viaggio fatto in Sicilia, p. 64.

drawn by him,[42] whose praise, whether lavished on individual or nation, confers the highest honour; and thus might the Sicilians, with competent exertions, expect to see, as in the golden days of Gelon,[43] and either Hiero, their

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[42] Jam verò hominum ipsorum, Judices, ea patientia, virtus, frugalitasque est, ut proximè ad illam nostram disciplinam veterem, non ad hanc, quæ nunc increbuit, videantur accedere. Nihil cæterorum simile Græcorum; nulla desidia, nulla luxuria; contrà, summus labor in publicis privatisque rebus, summa parsimonia, summa diligentia. De Jurisdictione Siciliensi.

[43] The high qualities of this sovereign do not appear to be sufficiently appreciated. Montesquieu relates a noble trait in his character:

"Le plus beau Traitê de Paix dont l'histoire ait parlé, est, je-crois, celui que Gélon fit avec les Carthaginois. Il voulut qu'ils abolissent la coûtume d'immoler leurs enfans. Chose admirable! Après avoir défait trois cens mille Carthaginois, il exigeoit une condition, qui n'étoit utile qu'à eux, ou plutôt il stipuloit pour le genre humain." L'Esprit des Loix, chap. v. liv. 10.

The translator begs it may be understood, that in the preceding remarks he disclaims having had in view any reflections on individuals, which would only draw upon him the stigmas of presumption and ingratitude. But it must be obvious to every person who has been in Sicily, that the system of government there pursued has placed her in the very lowest class of European nations, while the adoption of a few salutary changes would probably exalt her high in the second rank. He repeats that it is the system he attacks, and not individuals. And if he has been severe in his animadversions, it has been solely with

vallies clothed with the cypress, oak, poplar, chesnut, olive, mulberry, and pine, and their uplands smiling with the vine, and waving fields of Ceres.

EXORIARE ALIQUIS!

Such were the ideas and hopes with which the translator embarked at Palermo on board his Majesty's ship the Cephalus, after a residence of one year in Sicily. Her intrepid and generous captain weighed anchor by night. It blew a fresh breeze, which now veiled the moon with a cloud, and now as suddenly disclosed the full orb in all its lustre. It was such a night, when from the ruins of the theatre of Tauromenium, the summit of Ætna appeared at one moment shrouded in clouds, at another illuminated with the pale beams; it was such a night, when from the top of Minerva's Mount at Agrigentum, the columns of the temples of Juno Lucina and of Concord, were at one moment scarcely discernible; at another, were seen casting their long shadows to the greatest advantage. When all the sails were set, he dwelt

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the hopes of inducing those with whom it may rest, to direct their attention to the amelioration of the interior, and furtherance of the prosperity of the inhabitants.

on the pleasure he twice experienced on such a night; and saw with increased regret, the Sicilian shores gradually disappear, which present a delicious feast to the sight, the memory, and the imagination. [44]

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[44] The proceedings of the parliament of Palermo excite great interest at present in England. It is, the translator thinks, much to be questioned whether the *immediate* introduction of a government on the principles of the British, be an advisable measure. We all know that our Constitution, as described by De Lolme, and praised by Montesquieu, is the work of ages; that it was long before even English minds were properly tempered (if it be allowable to use the phrase) for its reception. There is also a phlegm in our countrymen admirably suited to it, which we may look in vain for among the Sicilians, who have a redundant flow of animal spirits, uncultivated minds, and ardent imaginations. And among a people thus constituted, can it be hoped to introduce *immediately* the blessings of our well-balanced constitution with any prospect of success? As well may any one weave cloth of gold in a garment of shreds and patches. Surely every step to improvement must be gradual. Let us hope that the Sicilian parliament will steer an even course between the Scylla of inactivity, and Charybdis of precipitation.

THE END.

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ERRATA.

Page 22, line 12, the reference to note 17 applies to the word " Boethus," and not to " Venus Erycina," line 19.

... 180, .. 20, *for* " ever," *read* " even."

... 189, .. 20, *for* " unknown," *read* " known."

... 340, .. 11, *for* " ivete," *read* " avete."

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Caius Plinius Secundus.

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